

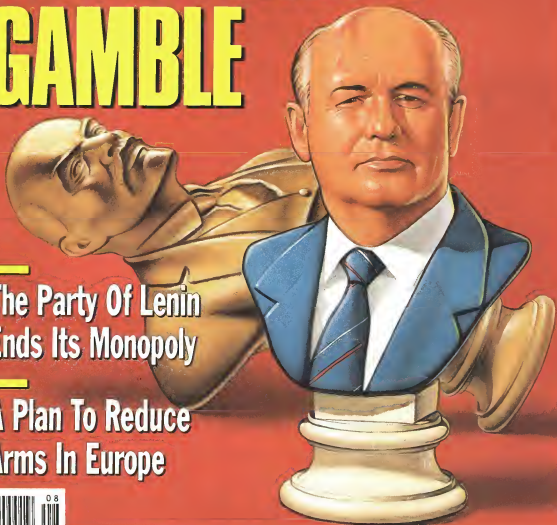
# Maclean's

## GORBACHEV'S GAMBLE

NELSON  
MANDELA:  
FREE AT LAST

—  
The Party Of Lenin  
Ends Its Monopoly

—  
A Plan To Reduce  
Arms In Europe





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parties:



The  
Captain  
just  
loves  
a good  
time.



# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE FEBRUARY 15, 1990 VOL 152 NO 8

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ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES C. H.

## COVER

### GORBACHEV'S BOLD GAMBLE



During a three-day plenum of the Soviet Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev pushed through measures that will end the Communist party's monopoly on power. Later, in cap a historic week, Soviet and American negotiators made substantial progress on arms cuts, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl broached another momentous issue—German reunification—in Moscow. — 24

## CANADA

### TAKING SIDES ON LANGUAGE

After Small Sir, Marie, Orlé, declared that English was its only official language, Mayor Joseph Fourier found his city under a storm by Ontario's premier and the Prime Minister of Canada. He did not back down. Then, three other Ontario mayors signalled their own cities' doubts about official bilingualism. — 14



## WORLD

### MANDELA: FREE AT LAST



Nelson Mandela's 27 years of detention ended at the weekend in almost universal acclaim. But reactions from South African conservatives showed that his release is only the start of a long, arduous and perhaps perilous process—giving South Africa's blacks access to the political arena. — 20

COVER PHOTO: THE NEW YORK TIMES



## LETTERS

### WATER DEBATE HEATS UP

I am famous every time I read an article about how bad our water is ("Danger in the Water," Cover, Jan. 15). We have known about that problem for years. Politicians on both sides warring about putting people out of work if they put in a dam to help the environment. Well, in years to come, there will not be any people. Come on, Canada. Let's make some clean waves.

Beverly Cook  
Osburn, Ore.

"One city's water problem" (Cover, Jan. 15) appears to link the Doonan Wood Preserving operations with the Newcastle, N.B., drinking-water situation. In fact, it has been demonstrated that this connection does not exist. A government-sponsored study concluded in September, 2000, that the drinking water was not contaminated with polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons. Doonan has not denied that its past operations contaminated portions of the quarry south of the plant. But the "deadly blight" you refer to has been shown by the environmental community to be partly the result of metal contaminants, particularly iron, which has never been used at Doonan's Newcastle plant.

George Kolomoysky  
Vice-president and General Manager,  
Wood Preserving Division, Doonan Inc.  
Pointe Claire, Que.

### 'NEWCOMER' DRAWS CRITICISM

By reminding that it is easier "to be in a job than to lose one's language," the *Los Angeles Times'* new Canada correspondent, Mary Walsh, has destroyed whatever journalistic credibility she had achieved ("A newcomer to a familiar land," *Opinion Matters*, Jan. 26). And so on her paper, which allowed her to take up the post against of this country's cultural distinction.

Melinda Thomas,  
Mount Royal, Que.

### RESPONDING TO AMIEL

Sorry that my interview published in *The Globe and Mail* caused Barbara Ansel to much criticism and worry ("Doing our Own dirty engines," *Column*, Jan. 22). In fairness, I will check first whether her permission has been obtained. Amiel mentioned Condostratus. The Soviet parliament recently adopted a resolution acknowledging their action of 1968 was wrong. It would be interesting to know if George Bush would declare that the U.S. invasion of Vietnam was wrong. Not that there is any reason I have in mind the carpet bombing of North Vietnam, the use of poisonous defoliants, the slaughter of over a million people,



Water pollution: time to make waves

along with the loss of 53,000 U.S. troops. Ansel also used the phrase "we returned them." I claim the right to be included in there. I was among 1,440 Canadian volunteers who fought against fascism in Spain (1936-1939), despite the Canadian government's threats to imprison us for serving in the armed forces of another country. This is not half-truth.

William A. Kardach  
Whitney

### A PART FOR VANNA WHITE

What part did Vanna White, who is pictured as "Readers on the defense" (Cover, Jan. 28), play in the past decade's corporate takeovers? Mentioned in the article, but not pictured, are businessmen Alan Bond, William P. Feltus, T. Boone Pickens and others—some of whom would look as structure in the spaghetti-strap blue frock that Vanna sports. Are such crude sexual tactics really needed?

Katherine Pembroke  
Gaines, Ore.

### 'STUPOR BOWL' A LOSER

You devote an entire page to the 1997 Super Bowl ("OT erupts: grass, games and media burn," *Trent Project, Sports Watch*, Jan. 26), but where were you during Canada's Grey Cup game? The exciting Grey Cup game last fall was the best thing that happened to Saskatchewan for a long time. Did the "Stupor Bowl" come true up to all the expectations? All the hype?

Brian Eldredson,  
Meyers

Let's see an article and stop to understand. Wilson could apply some advice and improve number. Most everyone does in *Letters to the Editor* (McGraw-Hill's magazine, *Wilson Reader*, July, 177 July 2, 1999, Oct. 2000 LAF).

## PASSAGES

**APPOINTED:** John Campbell, 56, a 13-year-old history teacher, as president and chief executive officer of the City Network, by the network's board of directors. Campbell, currently president of Campbell Foods Inc. in London, Ontario, Marney Chomkowski, 46, who was named as president in March, 1995, after 22 years as president of a firm in Burlington, Canada, in 1991. He graduated from the University of Toronto who worked for 20 years at McDonald's Inc. and for General Foods before moving to Campbell Foods in 1984. While Campbell said that he had not to develop a programmatic vision, he prepared to encourage "city rules" (including that allows the subsidiaries to get food they want).



**DIED:** Canadian soccer star defender "Whisper" Billy Watson, 74, a two-time world champion who became, usually known as a hard worker on behalf of disabled and underprivileged children, after suffering a severe heart attack, in hospital near his winter home in Orlando, Fla. Born William Pettit in Toronto, he was noted as more than 6,300 hours around the world during his 30-year-long career, which ended in 1977 when he suffered leg injuries as a career accident.

**DIED:** Academy Award-winning composer Jimmy Van Heusen, 71, who wrote the music for numerous Frank Sinatra hits, including *My Kind of Town* and *Nancy with the Laughing Face*, and for 23 Bing Crosby recordings, of complications from pneumonia, at his home at Rancho Mirage, Calif.

During his nearly 26-year-long career, he won four Oscars—for *Singin' in the Rain*, *All the Kings Men*, *High Hopes* and *Call Me Broomfield*.

**APPOINTED:** Canadian businessman and environmental advocate Marlene Strong, 60, as secretary general for the 1992 United Nations conference on environment and development to be held in Brazil. The Oak Lake, Man.-born Strong will head the international meeting of government officials and environmental experts, expected to be the most significant at 30 years.

**DIED:** Don Shewan, 60, the popular rock & roll singer, best known for his 1963 hit single, *Johnny*, apparently of a self-inflicted injury shot to the head at his Santa Clara, Calif., home.

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# OPENING NOTES

Mikhail Gorbachev plans a movie debut, Dennis Mills shuns a leadership bid, and Shirley Douglas knocks the press

## DROPPING OUT OF THE RACE

Many of his supporters expressed shock and dismay last week when Toronto MP Dennis Mills surprised them by announcing that he had decided not to run for the federal Liberal leadership. According to several members of Mills's non-defeat campaign team, media reports, which confused that the rocker had plenty of style but little federal substance, convinced the 43-year-old businessman not to enter the contest—a decision that he reached only one day before the scheduled launching of his campaign on Feb. 5. Some of his supporters say that Mills was discussing details of his campaign plan with his



Mills: a surprising withdrawal

wife, Winona, on Feb. 5. And Steven Meester, the owner of Miller's Restaurant in Toronto, told that members of the MP's campaign team had requested a banquet room at the restaurant for noon on Feb. 5—or which time Mills was to have officially entered the race. But according to the MP's campaign manager, Lou Goffard, Mills called his wife and four children together on Feb. 4—only hours after he had read a *Financial Times* article that said most Liberals dismissed his chances of becoming leader. At the meeting, the family decided that Mills should not enter the race. They did so, said Goffard, because of a feeling that media coverage would be intense and unfettered, following the lead of an article that depicted Mills as a lightweight who would only provide comic relief to the contest.

## Furs for some high-flying visitors

Representatives from 12 NATO countries and several Warsaw Pact states will likely find warm fur coats when they arrive at Ottawa's Confederation Centre this week to participate in a non-aligned summit. The summit is a treaty to allow international surveillance flights over each other's territory. This is a historic treaty, which will present the foreign ministers and their accompanying wives with 1400 pairs of fur coats. The coats are made of fur and have been made by fur traders from across the country. The coats are made of fur and have been made by fur traders from across the country.



Conference Centre: a cold-weather gift

support for the Canadian fur trade. Added Mills: "Are you kidding? That did not enter into it at all. But I suppose it is consistent with our views on the fur industry." If anything, the coats are symbols of international trade. The fur coats are symbols of international trade. The fur coats are symbols of international trade.

## SPELLING IT OUT IN DETAIL

The New York Times began using an "o" instead of a "u" in its spelling of Romania last week—but the editors' note that explained that shift was almost as convoluted as current Romanian politics. It read, in part: "The Times has been guided by its main geographic reference, the *Compendium Linguisticum* of the World. The gazetteer editors apparently believed that 'u,' better than 'o,' conveyed the Romanian pronunciation of the name. The Times is shifting now because 'Romania' has become more familiar to Americans than 'Rumania.'" Go to it.



Shirley Douglas: summing up the past "in eight stapled sentences"

## THE REGRETS OF A CELEBRITY

Shirley Douglas is currently playing the role of a street person in *Queen of the Damned*, a new drama by playwright Kent Stetson that had its inaugural performance in Calgary last month. But the 55-year-old actress is also the daughter of the New Democratic Party's legendary Tommy Douglas. One of many aspects of her past that inevitably surfaces in articles about her. Other bits of potent biography usually include Douglas's seven-year marriage to film star Donald

Sutherland and her highly visible participation in U.S. anti-war protests in the 1960s, particularly her anti-war activism and support for the militant Black Panther organization. Said Douglas: "It was a long period of time. People try to do it on the spot or in an interview to describe what would take a whole article. They try to put it in and explain it in eight sentences. And it has always added up being the stapled eight sentences you have ever read. It is really amazing." Post takes



Cambridge students: a study fifth in Canada

## Don't worry, be happy

While many older Canadians race fears that the nation may lose itself apart by surrendering over language and constitutional differences—and free trade with the United States—a group of high school students in their late teens has expressed a steady faith in Canada's survival. Twenty-three Grade 13 students at Scottwood Secondary School in Cambridge, Ont., concluded a literary exercise on "Canada as a World Literature Perspective" by conducting an in-class opinion poll based partly on the questions of the 1989 *Maclean's/Dominion* annual poll of 1,500 Canadians 18 or older. Only 21 per cent of the students, compared with 40 per cent in the *Maclean's* poll, said that the Meech Lake accord to amend the Constitution will be better. The same paper found that in five students, two in five said they would not consider that Quebec is likely to choose to separate from Canada in the 1990s. On the Free Trade Agreement, 71 per cent of the students (43 per cent nationally) said it was a good idea. But only seven per cent (26 per cent nationally) would be inclined to accept U.S. trade liberalization if the students (90 per cent nationally) express optimism over future economic prospects. Clearly, there is confidence in trade numbers—and youth.

## Glasnost in outer space

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is hoping to exchange astronauts with the Soviet Union for flights that are scheduled in 1992 or 1993. Under the NASA proposal, a Soviet physicist with astronaut training would be aboard a U.S. space shuttle flight carrying a space lab orbit in 1993. In return, a U.S. doctor would fly on a Soviet mission with a similar objective: studying the effects of space flight on humans. NASA officials told *Maclean's* that they expect to get George Bush's endorsement of that plan this spring. The Cold War thaw has now touched the space race.

## ROUND ONE IN A SPUD WAR

Two of the Maritime's corporate giants, McCain Foods Ltd. of Summersville, N.S., and the Irving family of Saint John, N.B., are battling on Prince Edward Island, where they are building processing plants on opposite sides of the island. But the two firms launched the two ventures in markedly different styles. According to a local observer, Irving used representatives spent \$400,000 on coffee and brown meetings at a late-January news conference to announce the building of a \$35-million plant near Summersville. McCain, by contrast, celebrated its \$30-million plant in the waterfront of the island by spending more than \$3,500 on a Feb. 1 party in Charlottetown that featured a lavish supper and open bar for 200 guests.

## DIRECT FROM THE KREMLIN

Press photographs and TV coverage have made his



Gorbachev: a debut with a single line

His familiar to viewers around the world. Now, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is about to make his movie debut in a feature film he popularized as director. Gorbachev, 54, will be seen in a December, 1988, backdrop in which four glasses (alcohol) is behind of

Soviet schoolchildren and down to an airport near Minsk. Gorbachev, a tall, 1.20 m, with a mustache. There, the guests faced the crew of an Aeroflot Russian cargo jet to fly them to Israel. With Gorbachev's

His familiar to viewers around the world. Now, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is about to make his movie debut in a feature film he popularized as director. Gorbachev, 54, will be seen in a December, 1988, backdrop in which four glasses (alcohol) is behind of

# The day Maclean's went underground.



Maclean's London Bureau Chief Andrew Phillips gets close to the news he reports, such as the day he took a risk-filled tour of the Romanian security police's underground maze under Bucharest.

However and wherever Phillips gets to work, his reports on the revolutionary changes in Europe appear only in Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine.

**Maclean's**

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

COLUMN



## A dangerous post-Communist vacuum

BY BARBARA AMIEL

**A**s I watched the downcast Soviet marshals in their peaked caps and smart gray uniforms stride in and out of the Kremlin on television last week, I felt a chill of fear. There is such silence at seeing that vile tyranny crumble in upon itself, but what, one wonders, will fill the vacuum left by the collapse of communism? Evil in the world did not disappear with the death of Adolf Hitler. Is the door now open to a violent new Russian imperialism or dictatorship?

It took nearly 30 years to undo the regime, if you date the first cracks back to the 1963 party congress in 1968 when Khrushchev began his de-Stalinization program. Thirty-five years is not as overnight wonder, and one thinks of all the 1930s cracks that came first. Not much attention has been paid in Wladyslaw Gombrowicz in Poland, whose halfhearted reforms predated both the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and then, when he tried once again in 1969, the Solidarity movement by a good 10 years. At one time or another, the Czechoslovaks, Hungarians and East Germans have all taken to the streets in protest. Now, the Soviet people say he true of communism, but true for what?

It happened that I chatted in London last week with Natan Sharansky, the human rights activist who was released in 1986 after nine years in the gulag. We sat overlooking the green park grounds but hotel rooms, sitting on the same quads—what will it be? Sharansky had been denied a visa to return to Moscow for Andrei Sakharov's funeral. "I am not at all nostalgic to go back there," he told me. "Not now because Sakharov had been with me and my family at the exact difficult moments in my family's life and I wanted to be with Elena Bonner (Sakharov's wife)." In Sharansky's view, it is very unlikely that a multiparty democracy can replace communism. He sees a period of very strong Russian nationalism and all the conventional problems that brings.

Sharansky's awe-filled concern, of course, is the surge of anti-Semitism within the Soviet Union. When a state exercises total control

*When ultranationalists beat members of the Soviet Writers Union, that was not a pogrom, says Sharansky, "but pogrom is in the air"*

over people, all things, including crime and pogroms, are institutionalized. There is no private initiative in good things, of course, but neither is there private wickedness or evil. The state may unleash evil—as, for example, a pogrom—from time to time for its own ends or it may be. Under Stalin, the Soviet Union was violently anti-Semitic and its people were fed a steady diet of anti-Semitism. But even at the height of Stalin's anti-Semitism, when Jewish intellectuals were being rounded up and there were the darkest trials, pogroms were not allowed. All that appears to be changing, and Sharansky sees it as a direct consequence of the Soviet people looking out about their own history.

"Today," explains Sharansky, "except for some anticlericalism in the political science departments of the universities of the Western world, no one believes in communism. It is utterly discredited. And the Soviet people hear from their own historians every day on television of how their culture and institutions were destroyed. Every day, new graves are discovered. They have lost 46 million of their own people were murdered, and this is not said by Solzhenitsyn, who everyone knew killed the authorities, but by conservative Soviet historians. And they realize that they have an

awful history. They need a scapegoat, and the Jews are natural. But we don't see anti-Semitism in the national movements of the Ukrainians, Lithuanians or Latvians, though traditionally there was strong anti-Semitism there."

The reason for that, explains Sharansky, is straightforward. The Baltic republics and the Ukraine have national movements that are homogeneous and absolutely united in their dislike of both the Kremlin and the Russians. They cannot the phenomenon that has haunted history when an absolute monarchy has ruled multinational peoples—in it, the Hapsburg Empire. In those cases, a dislike of the monarch comes with the dislike of the ruling people.

In the Soviet Union, the problems arose among the Russian people themselves, the core of the empire, who are the rulers. They dislike communists, but who can they blame? Not the Armenians, the Azerbaijanis, the Baltic peoples, the Ossetians or Chechens, among others—all of whom they either conquered or absorbed. The Russians are faced with their awful history and have, to some extent, only themselves to blame.

"So," says Sharansky, "they blame the 'Masonic Jews' who sell them vodka and try to corrupt and destroy mother Russia. Then someone says that Lenin had a Jewish grandfather and who was Marx? [A Jew.] Then they say that it was in fact Trotsky, a Jew, who destroyed all Lenin's ideology and it was Kaganovich [a Jew] who was declaring to Stalin what to do and they find some Jewish names among the leaders of the revolution, right? And of course, you can find this because three years ago Jews who believed in Bolshevism got like Russians did."

One can, in a sense, understand the plight of Russians. It must be a national trauma to listen day and night to the recitation of details proving only that our society has been a murderous, chaotic aberration. I often have wondered in the past quite how an educated German born after the Second World War to cope with the fact drummed into them eternally that their parents were complicit in the most heinous regime modern history has ever seen. The psychological scars must be terrible.

Now, in the Soviet Union, rampant the ultranationalist right-wing organizations) has, according to Sharansky, called for a pogrom against the Jews on May 5. "This was seriously discussed in Soviet television two weeks ago."

Sharansky says that the Jewish supporters beat up members of the Soviet Writers Union when it passed a resolution that Russian writers should be incompatible with anti-Semitism. That is not a pogrom, Sharansky says, "but pogrom is in the air."

A Soviet soldier standing in a shadow of a flower bed may be able to use the spectre of anti-Semitic pogroms and ethnic wars as a pretext to keep the troops on the streets and refuse unwilling members of the regime. Gorbachev will be seen as a personifier, a man protecting bloodshed, and the army will remain in control. After hours, when they fill the blood will run? All we know is that, should it happen, the death of communism notwithstanding, it will still be tragic and



# TAKING SIDES ON LANGUAGE

The councillors of the Northern Ontario city of Thunder Bay were unaccustomed to the attention. As they deliberated before a packed public gallery last week, network television crews, as well as reporters from publications as far afield as the *Los Angeles Times*, recorded their words and actions. The reason for the intense media scrutiny: a five-paragraph resolution calling on the council to declare English the only official language of Thunder Bay. Arguing against the motion, Ald. Don Miller said that it would be perceived as bigotry and issued a message that Thunder Bay, a city of 112,000 that includes about 3,500 francophones, was "a diverse, tolerant community." But Miller clearly spoke for the minority. By a 5-to-3 margin, council members voted to approve the motion in principle. If, as expected, council formally ratifies that decision this week, Thunder Bay will become the 63rd, and largest, Ontario community to declare itself officially English-only in the past three years.

Those communities now outnumber the 31 Ontario communities that have voluntarily adopted bilingualism in the same period. How-

## ONTARIO CITIES SPARK A NATIONAL DEBATE BY REJECTING FRENCH AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL

ever, a chilling message. Says Rolande Soucy, president of the Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario: "It is making us very nervous because we see intolerance surging."

The majority of the English-only resolutions arose in response to Ontario's French Language Services Act, approved unanimously in the legislature in 1986. That act, which went into effect last November, guarantees francophones the right to be served in French at the



Stuk Stuk Marie city council. Protesters believe destructive and gratuitous resolutions

local offices of all provincial agencies, at local offices in 22 areas where they make up at least 10 per cent of the population, and in urban centres where they number at least 5,000. But the protests only drew national attention on Jan. 15, when Stuk Stuk Marie, a city of 50,000 at the eastern end of Lake Superior, became the largest community until then to approve such a resolution. Thunder Bay followed suit once through, while Stuk Stuk Marie, it is not even in need designated for French services.

Councillors in both cities voted fairly that municipal employees may have to share the costs of imposing services for the province's 500,000 francophones. But civic leaders in both communities were also clearly eager to draw attention to a "host of grievances, accumulating over the 'quiet society' status the Quebecers proposed in the March 1986 amendment to Quebec's own 14-month-old language law, Bill 178, which ordered the use of English on outdoor signs. Stuk Stuk Marie Mayor Myer French wrote: "People are saying 'Enough! The French language has a place in Canada, but not necessarily in every community.'"

The new flurry of English-only resolutions struck a sensitive nerve with Peterson, who called it "destructive and gratuitous." In Quebec City last week the Chamber of Commerce, Peterson said that Quebecers were part of the responsibility because of its Bill 178, which he said, had "seriously hurt" anglophones. And he lashed out at the federal government, accusing it of doing an "unconscionable and disgusting" job of protecting minority language rights. Spea-

kers Quebec Council in Montreal West, Sherbrooke and the top Laurentian resort of Ashcroft Township (population 123) passed their own resolutions urging Stuk Stuk Marie to rescind its resolution. For his part, Parti Québécois Leader Jacques Parizeau called the resolutions an "insult" and "another indication that the dream of a bilingual society can never be achieved."

In other parts of the country, some municipal politicians greeted the decision with mixed results. In Victoria, the city council voted to ask the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to urge its members to work towards better relations between the two language groups. But in Ottawa, mayor-for-three of the now long-outdated refused to sign a joint statement declaring their continued support for a bilingual Canada. And in Stuk Stuk Marie, the councillors were dismayed by the national uproar and by a demonstration in support of bilingualism that brought 500 people to the doors of city hall. Indeed, on Feb. 5, the council reaffirmed its week-old English-only resolution, and the mayor expressed surprise at the attention the motion had attracted. Stuk Stuk Marie. It is not clear if Stuk Stuk Marie can be said to be working towards better relations between the two language groups, but there's something wrong with the threat that's being used.

French and others also said that it was happened to criticize his city and Thunder Bay without condemning Quebec's language laws. But, however, critics called that to support, protect and promote Canadian linguistic diversity. But the Conservatives, following Mulroney's lead, refused to endorse that wording, saying it included support for the embattled French language. With both opposition parties divided over the accord, the Liberal minority quickly begged down. Stuk Stuk Marie, a "serious" spokesman for the 18,930-member Canadian Patriots for French. "It is not that they think this is a just or a better political battle."



Brian Burgess with Karen Lewis in Thunder Bay

ing to supporters in Ottawa, Mulroney replied that he would match his record on minority rights against any other leader. Declared a clearly enraged Mulroney: "Perhaps the [French] should spend part of his time in his own province dealing with problems there."

Similarly partisan rhetoric dogged the issue in Parliament. On Monday, Liberal Leader John Turner introduced a motion calling on the House of Commons to "reaffirm its commitment to support, protect and promote Canadian linguistic diversity." But the Conservatives, following Mulroney's lead, refused to endorse that wording, saying it included support for the embattled French language. With both opposition parties divided over the accord, the Liberal minority quickly begged down. Stuk Stuk Marie, a "serious" spokesman for the 18,930-member Canadian Patriots for French. "It is not that they think this is a just or a better political battle."

In the rest of the country, meanwhile, the issue became the subject of heated debate on opinion talk shows and on the editorial pages of newspapers. Predictably, some of the strongest condemnation of the resolutions came

## National Notes

### ENDING THE DEBATE

The federal government avoided debate in a second reading debate on Bill C-68, the Goods and Services Tax legislation. Under the bill, which now moves to the Commons for second reading, for further study, the controversial seven-year-old tax would come into effect on Jan. 1, 1991.

### INVITATION TO REJOIL

In a document circulated to provincial Conservative MPs, the Reform Party of Canada said that it will ask Alberta Tories if they want "new and dynamic leadership." The paper, a clear invitation to Turner to resign again, Premier Donald Getty, also said that Reform, now only a federal party, could enter provincial politics if Getty steps in office.

### PUBLIC APOLOGY

Nom. Scott (Attorney General) Thomas Mulcair apologized to Gerald Marshall Jr., imprisoned for 11 years as a convict he did not commit. Mulcair also said that the province will accept all 52 recommendations of the commission of inquiry into the Marshall affair, which recently concluded that the House for the Cape Breton House's incarceration rested solely with the provincial parole system.

### NEW RELATIONSHIPS

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa said that Quebec may strive for a different political relationship with the rest of Canada. The March 14th accord that Bourassa did not specify what such a relationship would be, although one official said that the premier would soon appoint a committee to investigate options.

### ABORTION ARGUMENTS

The House of Commons committee studying the government's abortion legislation heard arguments for and against the new law, under which abortion would be allowed only if a woman's physical, psychological or mental health is threatened. The Canadian Medical Association condemned Bill C-43, saying that it would force women to be. By contrast, the Law Reform Commission of Canada called the legislation a "reasonable compromise."

### LAND SETTLEMENT

In Ontario's first aboriginal land-claims settlement, the provincial government reached an agreement in principle with six Indian bands representing 3,000 people on Manitowishkum and two nearby bands along the north end of Lake Huron. The bands will receive \$4.9 million in cash and leased land.

French's message that reverberated across Canada



# Giving up the reins

John Turner steps down as opposition leader

It was the last of dinner that John Turner enjoyed, a rare calm moment and his favorite day. Chaudhury was, consumed in the company of trusted friends in the history of a private club. Even the purpose of the evening last Tuesday slipped the mind of Liberal leader. Shouting the idea of political power left in his wake the waning days of a waning leadership, Turner was a congenial host with a few remaining favors to bestow. For Wendell, for Herbert Gray, the gift was Turner's job as opposition leader, for Ottawa Mayor MP and party whip Jean-Robert Gauthier, a promotion to Liberal House leader. Believed and shared with himself, Turner ordered Martin Goss to open for the table. At 10:10 the next morning, their faces were officially reflecting each other with Gray in the House of Commons, Turner told the Liberal MPs and senators at the party's weekly caucus meeting that he was resigning as opposition leader. Said Toronto MP Jim Peterson, a longtime Turner supporter: "He showed a lot of class stepping down now."

With five months left before a successor is elected at the Liberal leadership convention in Calgary, Turner's decision to leave the party was a prudent gesture that would permit the opposition to have no job to do. Peterson added to his own with a measure of enthusiasm. But it was also practical personal business. Although the Liberal Bay Street lawyer told reporters that he will stay on as party leader until the June leadership convention and retain his Vancouver-Quebec seat at least until then, Turner plans to leave Ontario next month to join Miller Thomson, a Toronto-based law firm. Last week, spokeswoman for Miller Thomson said that they hoped to capitalize on Turner's high reputation to practice law in Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia and England, as well as his widespread network of contacts, to help the firm expand. But, despite of Turner's claim that he received "a number of very interesting offers from across the country," party insiders say that it took a concerted swing by provincial legislators to drum up a job for the 60-year-old former prime minister.

In fact, Turner law firms such as Turner's former employers, Toronto-based McKinnon Beach and Montreal's Stelmans Elliott, decided to retain him on behalf or agreed his availability. The reason, Bay Street insiders say, is that many people in those firms are still privately waiting for the Liberal leader's

reimposition crusade against the supporters of the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement during the 1988 federal election. But Miller Thomson spokesmen denied that Turner's re-entry among Canadian politicians because of his anti-FTA stance would be detrimental to the company. Said Lawrence Berkman, chairman of Miller Thomson's executive committee: "Lawyers have stands on all kinds of



Turner, wife Gail, and Gray friends say he is disappointed about his place in history.

issues, and clients don't hold it against them."

Neither Turner nor his new employers would reveal how much he will be paid. But Miller Thomson expects to live comfortably in Toronto, for said his wife, Gail, will occupy a three-story, \$1.7-million brick house in the exclusive enclave of Forest Hill. The couple bought the seven-bedroom house last November for a \$115,000 down payment—last cost make monthly payments of \$15,734 on it.

Still, while Turner has apparently landed on his feet, his party continues to struggle with its own financial woes. A leadership campaign in 1984 and two disastrous federal elections left the party \$6 million in debt. Said Liberal party chief financial officer Michael Robinson, who is also campaign chairman for leadership candidate Paul Martin: "No one wanted to handle that. John Turner to bring the debt down." Despite these efforts, however, the Liberals continue to owe \$4 million.

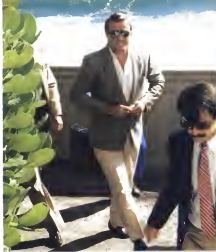
The Liberal leader also leaves a party at the crossroads in terms of its policy. Contrasted to

the Meek Lake scandal, Turner had faced the political embarrassment of seeing three of the six Liberals voting to support him as leader—including Jean Chrétien—oppose the Conservative government's constitutional initiative. At the same time, the party is struggling to stake out clear positions on defence, the economy and other issues. Still, Turner's supporters and his efforts to broaden the party's membership. And these colleagues confirm that his stature as a leader, during which he endured the humiliation of at least three attempts by dissatisfied Liberals to force him out of his job, was taxing. "It has been through hell as leader in an environment where weekly media wars," said David Scott, an Ottawa lawyer and backroom Liberal. "If you can't command loyalty, you can't lead." Added Scott, a personal

friend of Turner: "He is disappointed that he didn't leave the mark he wanted on history. But John Turner is an old-fashioned Catholic. He knows you never get your reward here."

Referring as more than two decades in politics, Turner said he wants that his only legacy was a demonstrated ability "to endure defeat and rebuild a party." That was far from the prime minister's dream that a challenge for all but 79 days in 1984. But last week, Turner's caucus gave him a fitting gift at a warm farewell ceremony. His fellow MPs presented Turner with his blue from the House of Commons, freshly striped, unpolished and adorned with a bronze plaque bearing his name. His caucus broke out in a spontaneous rendition of *He Ain't a Jelly Goo Fellow*. But, then, Turner had already left the room—a sign, perhaps, of just how eager Canada's 17th prime minister already was to get the world of politics behind him.

By ERIK FULTON and LISA RAY DUNN  
in Ottawa



Malibu in Palm Beach: privacy for the corporate and political elite

## Sun, sand and power

The Canadian connection in Palm Beach

In a Palm Beach, the sun does not really start until the birds arrive. They come in two varieties, only one of which is winged and feathered. Melody is quite sure what migratory song prompts some 2,000 turkey vultures to congregate each winter over the glider strip of sand and coral off Florida's east coast, although there is an uneasy suspicion that a night view something to do with the average size of the human inhabitants of the place. But there are no doubts about the traditional migrants, many of whom begin their annual pilgrimage in Canada. As Montreal's company Charles Gaudin, a leading member of the Canadian flock, cheerfully remarks: "If you're a seabird, there simply is no better place than this island."

The faithful migrate and over it, among

other things, the Montreal Eagles baseball team is typical of the Canadians who arrive to earn the luxurious U.S. winter lease into the southern headquarters of Canada's rich and powerful. A list of Newfoundland's neighbors near his mansion on North Lake Way reads like a who's who of Canada's elite. Conrad Black, media boss and chief executive officer of Hollinger Inc., is down the road, as is Paul Desmarais, chairman of Power Corp. of Canada, the Montreal-based financial giant. Richard Thomson, chairman and CEO of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, is not far away, nor is Steven Sharrin, president of Toronto's Black Hills Press. Robert Cameron, of the beleaguered City Savings Corp., is in the mountains, leaving City visiting George Mead of University Canada Corp., Donald Lowe of Canadian and Airc

Rigley, who used to own Rigley's Bellevue or Not. Former prime minister Pierre Trudeau likes to sleep in, as does aspiring prime minister Jean Chrétien. And Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has visited at least twice since assuming office in 1984.

Palm Beach, a sliver of sand 22 km long and less than two kilometers wide, is known as an extraordinary concentration of Canadian wealth and influence. It is a province that shows a strange mixture of old money and new money. Last month, yet another example of the colorful Canadian interest surfaced when developer S. Lyon Saxon inaugurated a 160-million hotel that has his company—Olympia-based, U.S.-based Ruddy Corp. Ltd.—built on the beach at the southern end of the island. The 110-room Ocean Grand, a five-star luxury resort fashioned out of black glass and white marble, is the first hotel to be constructed on Palm Beach's Atlantic Ocean shoreline in 35 years. It is also very likely to be the last: the hotel's three low-lying buildings occupy one of the few remaining tracts of apparently undeveloped beach front left on the island. "It's all gone now," said the Ocean Grand's managing director, Peter Pail, speaking as some of the long stretch of palm-fringed white sand on the hotel's four-story "Eyes if there was any land around," he added, "the chance is that somebody could get together, propose that this approved—not be the people who run this town."

In fact, Palm Beach's elected mayor and five council members assume no salary. Instead, they pay out of their own pockets their expenses for the job. In order to ensure that Palm Beach remains the sort of exclusive haven that it now is. "They have no favorites," said Pail. "Everyone is treated with the same courtesy." Municipal laws in Palm Beach, and among politicians in particular, are as capricious. Some are downright bizarre. In Palm Beach, subcontracting is not allowed on public streets, nor is surfing on public beaches. Until a year ago, men could not go without a shirt. But the politicians were angry enough to ensure that the law was not enforced. In the other island of the three developments that connect Palm Beach to the east of North America, Palm Beach must be one of the continent's few towns with more than 10,000 people that does not have a hospital, a cemetery, a marketplace, a public library, a movie theatre, a nightclub, a shopping centre, a movie theatre, a casino, a sign. There is not even a 24-hour taxi.

But for the crowded and the self-indulgent who feel obliged in Palm Beach that the signs of winter in Toronto's Ritz-Carlton or Montreal's Westin are not to be missed, it is no surprise that it is the best about Palm Beach is the fact that it gives me," said Bradford, as he related in the family mansion that looks

to watch the twin towers of New York influence developer Donald Trump's soaring double-dominos in West Palm Beach on the mainland. "Here, I can get pretty well what I want to be. It's out of the way but it's out in the business. I have friends here—in the business world, in the pharmaceutical world. If I need it, there is plenty of intellectual stimulation." With a nod across the placid blue waters towards West Palm, where the Expos hold spring training every year, he added, "And of course, the beach is here every day. See?"

While few of Palm Beach's Canadian residents can boast the ownership of a professional baseball team, most clearly do value the resort for many of the same reasons expressed by Bradman. In spite of the island's location, Palm Beach remains an exclusive place, giving its residents the kind of freedom and solitude that money cannot always buy elsewhere—and that, even here, carries a staggering price. There is an estimated \$4.8 billion worth of real estate on the island's 14 square miles. The average price of a house ranges from

which are occupied for only part of the year, was \$1.4 million last year.

And Palm Beachers, including the transplanted Canadian variety, jealously guard their privileged privacy. Outsiders are not welcome at their clubs. Their houses, small palaces really, are surrounded by carefully watched 20-

Four-high hedges of ferns and orange grass. Many have tunnels burrowing under the leaf litter not to penetrate beaches.

Pewer Corp's Desmarais is one of the least accessible residents. His mustard-and-white beach-helm, camouflage, and military-style orange Great Gales and California camouflage, is watched by armed guards. They responded to queries about the owner's sequestration with a noncommittal "Hard to say, hard to say." Desmarais's actual secretary, Debbie McGee, greeted inquirers with a practiced squint. Pressed to print the company's name, she replied laconically: "McGee."

Privacy aside, there are other attractions that continue to lure moneyed Californians to Palm Beach. The climate, certainly, is the

venier, is superb. This is largely due to the general influence of the Gulf Stream, which brushes the shores of the island. And the place is wonderfully beautiful as well as scrupulously clean. "It looks like it's been rinsed every morning," said Kugly, a native of St. Catherine's, Ont., who has been a permanent resident since he sold the Kugly's newspaper feature in 1994. "Sometimes, it's almost unreal."

Fish Beach can be said to affect the economy for Canadians who've equipped with the neoprene five finger water's shoesy grip. But there is also a certain gramma about the place that isn't always evident. It is reflected in snail's pace sales. Gerson's Pharmacy, for instance, whose living area and old-style soda fountain have been the scene of some a power struggle between the young and the experienced. The extra space was needed to store fish garments and waders that many of the privateers require. All of the catches in the walk-iners in Dempsey's, another favored haunt, are equipped with barbells. Of the 3,648 voters registered in the last presidential election, 4,678 of them—almost 50 per cent of the total—are 65 years of age or older. Indeed, there may be the only place that even Father's Day is observed, except for the various veterans' affairs, including the one that the winter sales don't have the coconut palms, are well understood.

BARRY CANNE is *John Reed*

## A flag that flourished

*The Maple Leaf marks a silver anniversary*

**I**t was 25 years ago this week that a century past of wind cut Canada's own flag crumpling over Parliament Hill for the first time. On Feb. 18, 1960, the neo-fascist orator and anti-semitic racist with an stylized quack like rasped the Red Wings, whose Union Jack had long symbolized Canada's historical connection with Britain. There were shouts for more at every appearance, but the Maple Leaf flag flew from the pole. For the first time in nearly 100 years, the members of Parliament had to change their traditional attitude over which proposed a new design for the flag would best forthly what story say at the waning time of Canada's youth. Co-operative Opposition Leader and senior prime minister John Diefenbaker (dreamed of that any new flag include both the Union Jack and the fleur-de-lis — a symbol of French Canada). But Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson (who had been a member of the party that, by accident, would create a new flag) saw that, by accident, would create a new symbol and not an independent Canada.

Still, although a few protesters wore black armbands on that day 25 years ago, and photographers caught tears in Diefenbaker's eyes,

most of the 50,000 spectators cheered wildly as Gesteau Secours, then a 26-year-old RCMP constable, hoisted the new flag for the first time. And this week in Ottawa, organizers of special anniversary celebrations expressed the hope that they could recapture the upbeat mood that accompanied the flag's first appearance. Secours, now a member of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, was to return to the foot of the Peace Tower this week to repeat his central role as a ceremony that was due to be attended by Gov. Gen. Roméo Levesque and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

But while Pearson stood the flag to be a symbol of Canadian unity, that prospect appeared far from certain during the disagreements over whether to adopt a new flag at all. Indeed, that debate took place during what was already an exceptionally tumultuous period in Canadian politics. Pearson's minority government, elected in 1963, was under attack for several political scandals and such controversial policies as the creation of the Canada Pension Plan, unification of the Armed Forces and the debate over whether to select official

**Independence** On top of that, a rising tide of separatism inside Quebec was at odds with growing mood of Canadian nationalists—often tinged with anti-American sentiment—elsewhere in the country. Into the midst of that politically turbulent and emotional era, Pearson was determined to launch the new flag as a symbol of Canada's unity.

At one level, Pearson's initiative is clearly not a success: even some of the flag's staunchest critics 25 years ago now acknowledge its importance. Murray Dobson, 68, former director of the Canadian Council of Ministers of the Environment, recalled the anger with Pearson's speech at the legation's annual ceremony in 1984 that led him to introduce a new flag. "I got a pretty rough reception," Dobson remembered. "A lot of him." But he also noted that the speech was "a pretty good idea" and that other Canadians seemed to agree. The country's largest flag manufacturers, Canadian Textiles Services from Lethbridge, stated that two million were sold that year alone. But Somers, at least, there were no winners. "I think the flag was not performed as well. I believe the flag has helped Canadian unity," he said last week. But with the country's founding on the simple doctrine of two languages and the Meech Lake accord, it remains clear that there are limits to what a flag can do. Once a popular flag holds its unity the other way.

GEOFF M. TAYLOR

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<sup>10</sup>See: Hurre and I have been wearing our own Cold War for about 10 years now.



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<sup>2</sup>This pleasant thing has gone, too, for I have lost the key which is a means not only of entry, but of exit.

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Canadian

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ADVANCE LIBRARY IS A



South Africans celebrate the unbanning of the ANC (above) Nelson and Winnie Mandela (below) after his release; Jay

## WORLD

# FREE AT LAST

The T-shirts proclaiming "Welcome home Nelson Mandela" appeared throughout South Africa last week as the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader prepared to leave prison after 27 years. For hours before his release, acoustic black choirs sang in the streets as a dance of the revolution known as *huphuphu*. Mandela's wife, Winnie, jumped for joy and exclaimed, "Hooray!" Days on Sunday, at 4:34 p.m. local time, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, 71, the effective leader of the nation's 36 million blacks, walked hand in hand with his wife Jacobine through 30 C sunrise at the prime estate Victor Verster Prison, 40 km south of Cape Town at the busy wine country of Paarl. He and his wife both grew triumphant ebullient and saluted to the crowd of hundreds of cheering supporters. They stepped into a car, which then proceeded slowly through the jubilation throng that surrounded it and the rest of the journey as it left with a police escort for Cape Town. There, a planned rally was

## THE LANDMARK RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA WAS A DRAMATIC TURN IN THE QUEST FOR HARMONY

suspended after police fired at some blacks who were smashing windows and looting stores. The unbanning of Mandela's opposing release came on Feb. 16 at a Cape Town news conference held by President F.W. de Klerk. "I want to emphasize there can no longer be any doubt about the government's sincerity to create a just dispensation based on

negotiations," he said. "All of us now have an opportunity and the responsibility to prove that we are capable of a peaceful process in creating a new South Africa." Still uneasy, however, was the status of the formal state of emergency and the fate of other political prisoners. In his meeting with Mandela, said de Klerk, he had "stressed the importance of creating conditions which would enable me to lift the state of emergency." As for the prisoners, de Klerk said that "exploratory discussions" would take place. On Sunday, an ANC spokesman said that the congress would not begin negotiations before the state of emergency was lifted. Anti-apartheid activists and black communists across the country started celebrating as soon as they heard the reports of Mandela's impending release. And within hours, world leaders lauded the move as a major step toward full rights for South Africa's black majority that the chorus of praise was not universal. South Africa's most powerful right-wing politician, Andrew Treurnicht, said that his official

opposite Conservative Party would stage protest rallies around the country. And members of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging marched through Potchefstroom on Saturday chanting "Hang Mandela." As well, the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, warned against "emotional politics" and noted that "there will be no overnight lifting of apartheid." De Klerk had already triggered an angry backlash from white supremacists on Feb. 2, when he legalized the ANC and first announced his intention to release Mandela and begin negotiations that ending blacks into the political process. But the ANC also has extremists. Some young black radicals, who fought in the Johannesburg-area black township of Soweto while their leaders were in prison or in comfortable exile, say that the older generation is being too cautious and too ready to bargain with the hated white regime. They mounted a riot in Johannesburg when Mandela conferred with former president F.W. de Klerk. Both last July and again when he held talks with de Klerk in December. Law and Order Minister Adrian Vlok said that the police had been aware for at least two years that some factions within the ANC "don't like the role Mr. Mandela is playing."

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tiated. But the other issue of political prisoners remained a sticking point. He said, de Klerk said that he would release only those who had not committed crimes of violence—including terrorism. And the police commissioner, Gen. Johan van der Merwe, said that ANC militants risk arrest on their return. "Unless amnesty is granted," he said. In Stellenbosch, Joe Slovo, ANC's second secretary general of the South African Communist Party and a member of the ANC's executive council, said that the ANC would have to be involved before any negotiations take place. "We have been engaged in a political struggle

which armed activity played a role," he said. "We can't separate those who committed political offenses and those who committed unrelated crimes." Observers say that de Klerk, anxious to get Mandela to the negotiating table as soon as possible, will likely concede that point. Foreign Minister Klaas Pienaar appeared to be balking the government's bid for an amnesty last week when he told a worldwide television audience on the ANC's 25th birthday that his government had been wrong to outlaw the ANC, and should have opened talks with that organization long before it started to violence. Once negotiations do begin, they will likely be long and arduous. Although de Klerk told parliament that he wants to repeal the Separate Amenities Act, under which white officials can be blacks from public facilities, other pillars of apartheid remain. The president made no mention of the Population Registration Act, which requires classification of all South Africans by race, or the Group Areas Act, which forces the races to live apart. The two sides will also have to negotiate de Klerk's stance of power-sharing, in which whites would be guaranteed provisions from black domination. Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Vlok said that Pretoria envisages a five-year transition for talks, after which blacks would have full political rights or would at least be engaged in the process of gaining such rights.

## World Notes

### ROMANIA'S AIDS EPIDEMIC

The World Health Organization sent an emergency medical team to Romania, where, it says, at least 700 children are infected with the virus. The team appears to have been spurred by successful efforts of injecting blood from adults into infants to stimulate growth. Doctors said that the children were infected with contaminated blood and by a second contamination of the mother. Medical equipment was in short supply under the Communist regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, who was executed in December.

### PREPARING FOR ELECTIONS

Re-elected President Salvadoran President Francisco Flores, the leftist government intended to allow a 12-hour national day of closure. Nicaragua's Feb. 25 elections, saying Washington was not required.

### A POPULIST PRESIDENT

In Costa Rica, Rafael Angel Calderon, 60, of the opposition Social Christian Unity Party was elected president. Calderon, who pledged to improve social justice in Costa Rica, will succeed President Oscar Arias, who won the 1983 Nobel Peace for his peace efforts in Central America.

### ACCEPTING RESPONSIBILITY

East Germany shared moral responsibility for the Holocaust, in which Jews killed nearly six million Jews, and it will provide "moral support" for surviving victims. Prime Minister Hans Modrow wrote in a letter to the World Jewish Congress. His government came 39 years after West Germany took the same action.

### CALIFORNIA OIL SPILL

Emergency crews struggled to clean up a huge oil slick off the California coast after the tanker American Trader spilled 390,000 gallons of oil. An anchor apparently ruptured its hull while the vessel was docking at a pier; it leaked two miles offshore. By week's end, high winds had swept the main oil slick more than three miles away to sea, but some of the oil broke away and leaked at least 18 miles of beaches south of Los Angeles.

### SUSPECTED SPYING

The U.S. State Department announced that a woman, Frances Birch, 54, an American diplomat who was publicly identified as a suspected Soviet agent last year after he was reintegrated in the company of a Soviet spy. Birch has not been charged with a crime.

THE MIDDLE EAST

# A bloody ambush

*The peace process survives a terrorist attack*

**T**he terrorists who attacked an Israeli tour bus in Egypt's Sinai desert last week killed seven Jews and wounded 17, clearly far more than murder in cold. Another target was the fragile peace process to which Washington and Cairo are attempting to arrange direct talks between Israel and the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. But, surprisingly, that process seems to have survived, even though some Israeli hard-liners blamed the attack on the PLO and said that Egypt was not to be trusted. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, instead of turning his back on talks, promised to push ahead with proposals to disarm the ground rules for civilians in the occupied territories with an acceptable Palestinian delegation. Both the PLO leadership and their leading representative at the West Bank, Yasser Arafat, denounced the attack. Declared Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres, "The reaction will not be allowed to decide if we are going to have peace or not."

A further assurance was that the attackers clearly had not intended—was a slight but perceptible warming of relations between Israel and Egypt, which, despite the two countries' 31-year-old peace treaty, remains generally chilly. Last week, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak telephoned Shimon Peres to deplore the attack, in which two Egyptian guards were also killed. As well, survivors expressed appreciation for the help given by individual Egyptians and hospital authorities. In

stop and then attacked it with automatic weapons and hand grenades. Passenger Palast Fares remained cool enough to record the grisly scene on his video camera and only stopped when a grenade blew off his fingers of his right hand. He handed over his cassette to the Egyptian authorities to help them trace the killers. Egyptian officials said that they are



Survivors arriving in Israel: a slight but perceptible warming of relations with Egypt

dearly other members of the Lebanese-based and Iranian-backed Islamic Holy War group, or their allies of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. That group, a breakaway faction of the PLO, is a prime suspect in the December 1988 bombing of the Pan American World Airways Boeing 747 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed all 259 people aboard.

Dr. Tzipi Barak and his wife, Rina, a nurse, were among only five passengers to escape the bus ambush unscathed. "It was just hell," recalled Barak. "Shots came from everywhere, and grenades were thrown through the front and back doors." He and his wife helped drag out the wounded and gave first aid at the roadside. A passing Cairo pharmacist, Mahmoud Ramadan, drove five injured passengers to hospital in nearby Ismailiya. When the bus

reached Ismailiya with other wounded, they quickly realized that the understaffed hospital could not cope with the casualties. Edna Barak got through an urgent phone call to her brother-in-law, Brig-Gen. Ariel Nene, who is Shimon's military secretary.

Egyptian authorities quickly gave clearance for two Israeli air force transport planes to land at Ismailiya with doctors and nurses. Meanwhile, Egyptian police arrested at least 40 suspected Palestinians for questioning. As the bus went on, Israeli-Israeli Industry Minister Ariel Sharon seemed intent on exploiting the incident to black negotiations with the Palestinians and help him in his power struggle with Shimon for leadership of the ruling Likud bloc. Sharon had the support of deputy Foreign Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who blamed the attack on the PLO. In 1986, that organization resounded acts of terrorism outside Israel and

the occupied territories, but Netanyahu said, "Don't expect the PLO to live up to its promises." For his part, Sayed Ramadan, the PLO representative in Cairo, denounced the attack.

As the 22-state Arab League launched a diplomatic offensive to curb Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel, the warming of relations between Israel and Egypt seemed inconceivable at best. But there was one reassuring example of mutual goodwill during a neighborly telephone conversation between bus survivor Rina Cooper and Ramadan. The Egyptian maternal who and drove her to hospital. "I just want to send you a big kiss for everything you do," said Cooper. Replied Good Samaritan Ramadan: "You are a very good people I know."

JOHN BEEBMAN with ENO SCHEPER in Jerusalem

THERE'S VODKA.



AND THEN THERE'S SMIRNOFF.

# GORBACHEV'S BOLD GAMBLE

**AFTER 72 YEARS,  
THE COMMUNIST-  
PARTY AGREES TO  
ALLOW A MULTI-  
PARTY SYSTEM**

**A**s he squirmed under the lights of television cameras last week, the man considered Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's closest ally did not look like Alexei Yavlinsky, a former ambassador to Canada who is now a member of the Kremlin's elite Politburo, but a representative for his restrained, cautious and pragmatic approach. At the end of the history-making, three-day plenum of the Central Committee, involving more than 900 top Communists, an irritated Yavlinsky smiled frequently and bantered with reporters. After a series of self-debating arguments, Gorbachev, supported by Yavlinsky and other reformers, had pushed through measures that will cause some of the most significant political changes in the Soviet Union in more than 70 years. The most dramatic: a commitment to allow a multiparty system that could end the Soviet Communist party's domination of power since the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Said Yavlinsky: "We do not think any one party should have a monopoly."

**Title:** With that decision, one of the world's reeking superpowers embarked on a course that will inevitably reshape its political destiny set by the founder of the Soviet Communist party, Vladimir Lenin. Reform-minded youths, who had watched the tide of democratic change sweep their Warsaw Pact neighbors in recent months, reacted ecstatically. One ob-

server, Sergeyev Fedorov, a retired eye surgeon, displayed a wide grin after emerging from the plenum and told reporters: "We will have a normal democracy. It is marvelous!" Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who met with visiting U.S. Secretary of State James Baker later in the week, predicted that the measure would immediately improve already warming Soviet-American relations. Indeed, as if to cap a historic week on Saturday the two nations announced substantial progress towards agreements on chemical weapons, strategic nuclear limits and conventional forces in Europe. These moves would reduce military spending at a time of acute consumer shortages in the Soviet Union, as threatened by long lines and low-quality products (page 24). Thus, in an equally momentous development, the Kremlin apparently reversed all obstacles to speedy reevaluation of Gorbachev (page 20).

In the short term, the effects of the Central Committee's decision to give up the Communist

party's monopoly on power are uncertain. Most observers predict a fall in party membership from its present total of 50 million. In the wake of deepening frustration over the country's growing economic crisis, the party already acknowledges a sharp decline in its ranks over the past year. At the same time, the decision to allow a multiparty system, renewed speculation that Gorbachev may resign as General and party general secretary in order to concentrate his efforts on his position as state president and chairman of the Supreme Soviet. In a series of sweeping constitutional changes last year, many of the powers of the party general secretary were transferred to the chairman's office. As well, Yavlinsky said, plenum delegates supported the idea of creating a permanent system similar to that in the United States.

**Proof:** That observers assumed that the abolition of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution, which declares the Communist party the "leading and guiding force of Soviet society," marks only the start of an uncertain path to greater democracy. Finally, legislation revoking the article must be passed by the Congress of People's Deputies and the higher legislatures, the Supreme Soviet. Although successful passage appears almost certain, many experts say that, after 72 years of one-party rule, Soviets may be ill-prepared for their new freedom. Said Fraydunya Grigolina, a professor specializing in Soviet studies at the University of Toronto: "I do not expect organized party politics for several years." Communist supporters also said that they will work hard to convince voters that they should retain power. Declined foreign ministry spokesman Genadi Gerasimov: "All parties are going to be equal. Of course, the Communist party will want to be more equal than the others."

In fact, the decision to submit the party's future to the will of the electorate was not that

most secure Communists—including Gorbachev—had long stented. As recently as last November, the party leader wrote in an article in the party's daily newspaper, *Pravda*, that "the interests of the consolidation of society... prevent the advisability of keeping the one-party system." But with grassroots political groups gaining increasing attention and influence, Gorbachev and other Communists clearly came to realize that, at least ultimately, no opposition already existed.

**Proof:** As large-scale proof of that, a rally held in Moscow in favor of a multiparty system on Feb. 4, the day before the plenum began, drew more than 200,000 participants—including several members of the Soviet legislature. Said one of them, prominent historian Yuri Medvedev: "Long live the beginning of the peaceful, democratic revolution of February, 1990!" The next day at the plenum, Yuri Prizhnev, the party chief for Moscow, told delegates, "Society is already living in the conditions of an actual multiparty system."

Meanwhile, one of the most serious problems for the Soviet leadership concerns the growth of informal groups across the country. Most of the country's 15 republics now have Popular Front organizations, which share

common aims of pushing for greater autonomy from Moscow and improved linguistic and cultural rights for their different ethnic groups. But the methods they use can range drastically. The three groups in the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia have worked peacefully within the law on a course toward winning their republics' eventual independence from Moscow. But in the Transcaucasian republics of Azerbaijan, government officials said the local Popular Front helped organize recent clashes with neighboring Armenians and Soviet troops. More than 300 people have died since the start of the year in the ethnic fighting, which erupted again last week.

**Problem:** In fact, the closing session of last week's plenum was devoted almost entirely to discussing measures to deal with a related problem. Last December, Lithuania's Communist party voted by a margin of 68 per cent to declare itself independent from the national party. When Gorbachev visited the republic in January, hundreds of thousands of Lithuanians staged pro-independence demonstrations. At the same time, several members of the republic's Communist leadership said publicly that they also show full political independence for the republic. As a result of all that, the Soviet

Central Committee last week issued a resolution calling on dissident Communists to return to the fold. It also said that it will supply funding to the handful of Lithuanian Communists who declared allegiance to Moscow. Said Gorbachev: "We are leaving the doors open in the hope that Lithuanian Communists will use such an opportunity."

**Fact:** But few Lithuanians were attracted by that offer. Last December, the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies declared illegal a secret 1989 pact between the Soviet Union and Maa Gensung, which provided for the Soviet annexation of the three Baltic republics. Last week, the Lithuanian legislature cited the congress declaration as evidence that the annexation was "illegal and invalid." As a result, it proposed bilateral talks with Moscow to negotiate the restoration of Lithuania's independence.

That defiance of the Soviet Communist party has been evident in various parts of the country. Within the past month, the Soviet media have reported four separate incidents in which local Communist leaders engaged in the face of unrepresented public anger. In one such case, in Tyumen in northern Siberia, the local newspaper published a letter from the



Pro-democracy demonstration in Moscow; Gorbachev (below left). "Long live the non-violent revolution of February, 1990!"



MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

## THE PLENUM ERUPTED INTO A CLASH OVER PAST ERRORS AND NEW PLANS

party ideology secretary in which he said that a local party chief, Genosh Bogomiyev, presented a "declaration of heresy" to Party activists then passed a vote of nonconfidence in the entire local leadership, which forced resignation. The newspaper *Rabotnaya Tribuna* declared that, such the resignations, reform efforts had "advanced more in two days than in the previous five years."

**Business:** That new boldness was evident in the often-buried tone of exchanges at last week's plenum, which quickly erupted into a fierce clash between reformers impatient at the slow pace of change, and conservatives criticizing many of the measures that Gorbachev has already implemented. Indeed, the plenum carried over into an unscheduled third day to accommodate the heated debates.

Early in the picnic, Viktor Lukachev, the leading member of the Politburo, received warm applause when he said that the Politburo had executed "serious overights and mistakes." And, referring to Gorbachev's program of *perestroika*, he declared "After some what of an ebb in the first two years, the economy began to dash, moreover funds reached bloodied and people began to experience

leat? But Lachovszky also surprised some observers by siding with the reformers on the need to speed up reforms affecting the pricing system, money supply and economic autonomy. Individual liberties. Declared William Tiede



Other delegates harshly criticized the present leadership's habit of blaming existing problems on past leaders. Said the mayor of Moscow, Valery Solov' "In the struggle against deformations of socialism, we see social

was itself be trampled underneath." He added, "Perestroika began without any real blueprints and often was treated randomly."

When that took place, Gorbachev and his supporters engaged with what Western diplomats sometimes described as a carefully chosen strategy. In addition to the 249 Communist members, more than 700 journalists and 150 members from across the country were invited to attend as observers. They were not allowed to vote on resolutions, but were allowed to speak. And many of these representatives were sympathetic with Gorbachev's ideas. And on Moscow-based Western diplomats: "It coated a groundwork of support for Gorbachev that he would not otherwise have had."

**Criticism:** Gorbatchev showed a willingness to accept the delegates' criticism and, on occasion, to admit that he agreed with them. In his opening address, Gorbatchev said that when he came to power in 1985, "the crisis that beset the country was immeasurably deeper and more serious than we expected." He added, "Regrettably, we could not escape social, economic and military dangers during perestroika, and first, not least, the danger of nuclear war."

Gorbachev finally emerged from the plenum with several key concessions that should allow him to accelerate reform plans. In addition to abolishing Article 6, the plenum delegates agreed to create another form of a central bank.

He launched these remarks after seeing Kohl's announcement that marked a major breakthrough on an issue that has troubled the world, especially Moscow. In his meetings with Shevardnadze, Gorbachev had expressed support for the West German proposal to make a reunited Germany part of NATO, but not to include NATO troops in what is still a divided city. Gorbachev also had countered that a united Germany should be neutral. But Kohl and the Gorbachev had agreed that details such as security could be left until later. And a report by the Soviet news agency Tass appeared to confirm that Gorbachev 3,655 quoted Gorbachev as saying, "The Germans themselves should make their choice at what pace and under what conditions they will be restoring their unity." As the prospect of reunification became a reality, Gorbachev was no longer an arms control hawk. The task is clearly more important than ever.

MARY SIMMONS with permission from her estate

*Gohtschev addressing Supreme Soviet: creating a U.S.-style presidential system*

congress from its original date in 1995 to the early summer of this year. At the last congress, held in the successful stronghold of the 1988 Moscow contest with then-President Ronald Reagan, Gorbachev pushed through far-reaching reforms that decentralized political power and laid the groundwork for a newly reformed parliamentary system.

**Treaties:** The next congress, planned for either late June or early July, would follow on the heels of a Washington summit with President George Bush. The two sides are hoping to sign new accords on nuclear reduction treaties which would again allow Gorbachev to join a party congress with world leaders on his agenda. There, Gorbachev is expected to propose measures to cut back the size and power of the Politburo and Central Committee and reduce the influence of the military on the government. Yel'tsin and Sakharov said that the proposal the plenum approved regarding the creation of a presidential agency would involve a presidential

Some Western analysts expressed skepticism as predicting what Gorbachev's next move is likely to be. Declared Timothy Colton,

a Canadian expert on Soviet affairs who now teaches at Harvard University. "Gorbachev has a habit of being very vague when he does not know what to do and when he cannot overplay his hand," Colton added, but, although "the trend towards changes is obvious."

In fact, some observers said that the plan did not clarify whether Communist party cells that operate in all state-run factories, schools and hospitals will continue. As well, Gorbachev did not say whether Communist organizations will continue to name appointees to such highly coveted positions as the editor-in-chief's son.

of major newspapers. And Amherst College's *Tribune*: "All we have seen is Gorbachev's speech stating that the party will give up legal and political advantages. The question is, which political and legal advantages?"

**Victory:** But few people expressed doubt that Gorbachev had won a significant political victory. Although rumors had circulated in Moscow before the plenum that disenchanted Central Committee members might seek his ousting, most experts agreed that he emerged with his personal power enhanced. Said a Moscow-based Western diplomat: "He turned out what could have been his political funeral into one of the largest victories."

Despite the intensity of the debates, Gorbachev's final platform was approved with only one dissenting vote. That came from Boris Yeltsin, the outspoken reformer who has become Gorbachev's most vocal critic. Yeltsin later told reporters that he opposed the platform because it did not go far enough in its mandated changes.

For their part, ordinary Soviets misinformed by *glasnost's* greeted the idea of a multiparty system with a mixture of anticipation and confusion. Many Soviets say that their prime interest is political change is how it will affect the country's economic crisis. Said Sergei Klugev, an engineer from Ukraine: "There is no way out of the economic mess we have now. It doesn't all lie on the one-party system." But Lidiya Vasileva, a 33-year-old engineer, declared, "This situation is so complicated now that a multiparty system might make it harder to make progress in the future."

Some Soviets attribute such uncertainty to the repressive methods practiced in the country's past. Said Nikolai Kravchenko, a journalist and political consultant: "We have very strong traditions of fear and oppression. That is why it may seem that Soviets are more afraid than people in other countries."

**Conviction:** That is an emotion that Garbusch clearly hopes to avoid. As he spoke to delegates last week after a new measure had received passage, he cautioned them to be wary of the tactics used by opponents of his initiative. "I don't want to see the same old, same old," said Garbusch of opponents' countermeasures. "They say, 'You have wrecked a flourishing state.' In another breath, they tell you they are not panic-consumed and that they favor perestroika. But they are panic-prone. And they are panic-prone. This is a definition." As he affirms the Soviet people's great leap forward towards democracy, Garbusch clearly does not believe in looking back.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH as ARTHUR  
MARE DOYLE as Maura MARY KEMPTON  
as Theresa and KELLY MACKENZIE  
as Elizabeth

## A MOMENTOUS DAY IN MOSCOW

At the end of a week of intensive developments, two visitors to Moscow almost over-estimated the Soviet Communist party's historic meeting. First U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made substantial progress on arms reductions. Then West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, after four hours of talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev, announced that the way was clear for German reunification soon after the March 18 elections in East Germany.

Kolb's statement came only hours after Baker had departed with an agreement that the United States and Soviet Union would drastically reduce their stockpiles of chemical weapons. The two sides also made headway on conventional and strategic nuclear arms treaties—agreements that President

George Bush and Gorbachev intend to sign it, a State document.

U.S. officials said that the agreement on chemical weapons mirrored an earlier U.S. proposal that both sides destroy 80 per cent of their stockpiles unilaterally, and later withdraw all but two per cent. Gorbachev has accepted responsibility for Bush's plan (32), that both sides powers cut back to 1995,000 (troughs) in Central Europe, including Soviet territory that he rejected Bush's plan to keep an extra 30,000 U.S. troops in Germany without a matching Soviet deployment in Eastern Europe. In an apparent compromise, the two sides agreed that the issue would be put to the 35 members Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

U.S. officials said that the Moscow talks had also "broken the back of the START agreement"—the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, which aim to slash the superpowers' arsenals of long-range missiles and bombers in half. The Soviets agreed that the hard-to-verify sea-launched cruise missiles could be dealt with outside START. And most agree on

# LIFE IN THE SLOW LANE

## MOST CITIZENS SUFFER DAILY FRUSTRATIONS

On Krasnaya Prospekt, Moscow's main avenue to the Kremlin, the rush to get out of the way starts at 8:30 a.m. weekday mornings. That is when the city's gray-coated, white-bellied traffic police, armed about 1950 in total, begin frantically waving traffic to the side of the four-lane road. Minutes later, several black 200-horsepower, flanked by smaller "Volga" cars, flash into view. They use a special outside lane reserved for them, as well as those of the four regular lanes. As they pass, the traffic police step to attention and salute. But the occupants of the limousines, traveling at 130 km/h with curtains drawn and headlights flashing, appear unlikely to notice. For motor motorists, the speed limit in a government-enforced 80 km/h. But when a member of the ruling Politburo and their bodyguards drive to work, says one young Moscow woman wryly, "it is not a volunteer job" choice is to be.

**Privilege:** Despite Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's dramatic reform efforts, life in Moscow's best area remains a privilege open to only a handful of the city's nine million residents. They include members of the 13-member Politburo and the 249-member Communist party Central Committee, whose traditional apartment large dachas in the country, chauffeur-driven limousines and access to special food provisions. As well, the estimated 14,000 foreigners living in Moscow, including diplomats, journalists, business executives and their families, live under special, private compounds and drive in the few well-staffed taxis that accept well-to-do foreigners. Despite those facts, life for the foreigners has its problems: they have to endure what veteran diplomats describe as the most draconian regulations and bureaucracy of any major city in the world. Among them: mandatory specially issued license plates on all foreign cars; and a requirement to give 48 hours' notice to the foreign ministry before traveling more than 60 km from Moscow. But most of the Soviet Union's 290 million citizens

suffer daily frustrations that make the foreigners' lives seem idyllic in comparison. In Moscow, where conditions are relatively better than in the rest of the country, citizens can still wait up to 10 hours for their own apartment, now, most families are forced to live in flats with as many as three other fam-

ilies of articles on consumer shortages, the newspaper *Nashkovskiy Novosti* interviewed a 60-year-old woman who had traveled 1,500 km to Moscow from the northern Caucasus region especially to buy socks, which were unavailable at home.

For Soviets shopping in regular state-



Shoppers queuing up in Moscow: defective items, rude staff and a baffling web of regulations

ilies—one family per room—with shared access to kitchen and bathroom. As well, the country's production and distribution problems mean that such basic items as sugar, meat and most fresh fruit and vegetables are largely unavailable. Families rely primarily on canned goods, oilseed fats, bread and potatoes. The typical Soviet woman, who, according to government statistics, averages two hours each day standing in tedious storefront lines, in school years without a folded cloth shopping bag to use she finds the opportunity to stick up on some back-to-obtain items. Last month, a state-run Moscow store selling only well-dressed, temporarily because it ran out. In one incident last year, four people were injured, including a woman who suffered some broken ribs, when a group of frustrated shoppers began trampling each other in a lineup to buy bathroom tissue.

stores, the frustration over shortages is compounded by the poor quality of the items that are available. An unpublicized public celebration last December at Moscow's Park of Economic Achievement focused on defective items found in Soviet stores. The exhibits put on display included a food mouse in a beer bottle and an egg-shaped screw ball. At a downtown Moscow bakery recently, two Soviet women demanded refunds for bread they had bought there. One girl obtained a dead mouse, the other a coal stove.

**Scrap:** As well, in a highly publicized court case last year that is still unresolved, a sausage manufacturer sued the newspaper *Za izmeneniye Gosts* after it reported that the factory's sausages were so inferior that cats refused to eat them. The newspaper said that the sausage's ingredients included "lots of

wood, nails, sand and glass." It said that out of 30 stores and catering outlets offered the sausage, 24 had refused them after an explanation "will not" and five only ate out of extreme hunger." Added the newspaper, "Only one, the two-month-old Viten Muz, you can say actually set down to the sausage."

Even when those months worth buying, the persisting problem is an extreme one. Buying on time is a status many usually prefer, standing in those defective lines, first to arrive an item, then to pay for it, and once more to collect the item. Most stores still use an office to roll up transactions. And they close down before lunch hours—the preferred shopping time for Soviet consumers.

Perhaps less galling to many Moscovites is that they are sometimes made to feel that they

needless if Soviet service staff because state-run restaurants do not have to show a profit, may actually close during lunch or dinner on the whim of the boss. Waiters, for their own convenience, often stand on waiting patrons at tables already occupied by other people even when the restaurant is less than one-quarter full. In one Moscow restaurant last year, a diner seated in such fashion noticed that 12 of the 16 tables were empty. When he asked the waitress to leave his table, she never returned or in short order the waiter, and then back to his original seat.

**Rebates:** But such consumer handicaps represent only some of the difficulties of living in the capital. At times, the baffling web of Soviet regulations seems deliberately designed to negatively influence—starting upon arrival in the country. According to Soviet law, it is

saying where the money came from. Otherwise, the bank will not accept the deposit. Similarly, to receive registered mail sent from another country, the post office asks for a letter giving details of the package and its contents. But that mail often is not delivered and, if the sender does not list the standard recipient that the package is en route, it can disappear at the post office.

Facilities that people in many other countries regard as basic and either nonexistent or in short supply. There are no telephone booths and few accurate maps of major Soviet cities because roadblocks are largely unknown outside of telephone exchanges, one measure of inspection because in how many different telephone lines they can be traced. Few offices have secretaries or answering machines, and there is no tradition of taking telephone messages. Ordering a telephone can take up to two years, and only foreigners and Soviet government officials have phones with the capability to direct-dial internationally. Such phones cost \$400 annually to rent, and there is now a two-year waiting list.

**Rebates:** Moscow's lack of current knowledge, coupled with the grey and gloomy as of winter days with less than an hour of daylight, sometimes greets the city a curiously dated air. That is compounded by the city's lack of neon signs and the tradition, leftover from Second World War blackout, of Soviets drawing their cars at night with only their own parking lights on. Officials at several Western embassies in Moscow say that their diplomats, many of whom have arrived in demanding assignments all over the world, suffer an unusually high rate of depression at the time of year.

Faced with such an array of problems, many observers say that the challenges underlying Gorbachev's reform efforts may be insurmountable. For their part, ordinary Moscovites often take notice in the tough, self-mocking humor that is one of the city's best-developed traditions. One current anecdote depicts two Soviets, an opponent and a pessimist, in current disagreement over the country's economic future. The pessimist declares, "Life here has become such hell that it could not become worse." Responds the optimist: "Nonsense. It will, it surely will." In time wars of the future, the Soviet Union's fate that the punch line only reflects their present despair, and not their future despair.

ANTHONY WILSON-ARRETH in Moscow



Most still in Moscow market: Soviet women average two hours a day standing in storefront lines

are second-class citizens in their own country. Passengers can enter any Moscow hotel or restaurant by showing their passport, but Soviets are barred from entering major hotels unless they can prove that they are registered guests. The only stores in Moscow that have powerful food supplies are the state-run special stores called *detmatsk*, which accept only foreign currencies or coupons and two Western-occupied post-war shops. The few Soviets able to use these either work for Western employers or have left an all-encompassing Russian mode that mostly translates as "suspicious." Even then, the privileged Soviets complain that they are targeted and for especially risk treatment by Soviet Soviet staff.

In fact, both foreigners and Soviet-born residents risk encountering incidents about the





## MANY SOVIETS CONDEMN THEIR COUNTRY'S MILITARY ADVENTURISM

ans to the relief, the Soviet Union should continue supplying weapons to its government unless the two sides declare a full ceasefire.

That proposal faces increasing resistance in Moscow, where there is a growing belief that the Soviet Union, beset by near-crisis economic conditions, cannot continue at its present levels. And many Soviets are increasingly expressing disapproval over their country's involvement in Afghanistan. Last February, when their troops were withdrawn, Soviet media praised the "unprecedented day" of the soldiers. But now, many Soviets condemn their country's military adventurism, which resulted in 15,000 Soviet deaths. Recently, Soviet newspapers have published a stream of articles critical of the decision by former leader Leonid Brezhnev to send in troops in December, 1979, to prop up Afghanistan's Marxist government. Said Artyom Barinov, a journalist at the weekly magazine Ogoniok who frequently accompanied Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan: "We agree over this the way Americans did over Vietnam."

**Frontlines:** The constantly moving Afghanis clearly feel towards the Soviet Union is evident even in Kabul, which has been the largest recipient of Soviet aid. Before their pullout last year, Soviet officers ordered their troops to restrict their shopping to the huge open-air market on boulevard Chkalov. Soviet because Soviet soldiers were routinely being attacked in the poorly lit and winding lanes leading to smaller markets. Now, foreign vendors to the city find that incidents welcome them warmly as soon as the entrance outside that they are not Soviet. Said one Kabul shopkeeper in halting English: "People here think Russians are bastards."

But many Afghans also express anger and frustration with the American government's policy of supplying arms to the Mujahideen. Government officials say that the rebels have been indiscriminately using American-made cluster rockets, which are two-stage missiles with a range of up to 34 miles. Those weapons are particularly lethal because they can be targeted to explode in major and scatter dozens of smaller explosives. Recently, a cluster rocket killed a 17-year-old girl and a 10-year-old boy as a residential area on the outskirts of Kabul. Said a 34-year-old girl named Nadia, who survived the blast because she was behind a tree: "Everything was quiet, and then the world turned upside down."

That is a situation to which Afghans of all ages have become accustomed. Along with the dangers of rebel rocket attacks, government

ordered air strikes and regular armed clashes, Western military experts estimate that there are at least 18 million still-undiscovered land mines buried across the country. As a result of mine explosions, there is a growing demand for prosthetic limbs from the Red Cross's workshop in Kabul. In the past two years, the Red Cross has supplied more than 1,200 artificial



Wounded child in Kabul's Red Cross hospital: 26 million still-undiscovered land mines

limbs to maimed Afghans, and 2,700 other people are on a waiting list. An estimated 30 per cent of the Red Cross patients are children. Said Jo Nagels, the program co-ordinator: "We keep producing more, but it's never enough."

**Orphaned:** As a result, medical care is one of the country's few rapidly expanding sectors. At a Red Cross hospital in another section of Kabul, a team of four Western surgeons sometimes works around the clock to keep space available in the 150-bed facility. Red Cross medical teams have also been forced into two other cities. A recently arrived group is now setting up 47 centres to distribute blankets, medical care and food supplies. As well, the Afghan government has ordered the medical faculty at Kabul University to increase sharply the number of students it accepts, although classes are already overcrowded. Said Dr Hassan Bala of the faculty: "We have too many students, and not enough of anything else."

In fact, Kabul University provides another vivid illustration of the toll that 12 years of war

has wrought upon the country. In the early 1970s, its medical faculty frequently attracted visiting professors from other countries. The visitors kept both students and other teachers abreast of new medical techniques and often brought new equipment with them. But since the Soviet invasion in 1979, said the bacteriology department's Guseinov, "no one wants to come here, and most of those who can leave here do so as soon as they can." The 43-year-old Guseinov, who has studied and lectured at Harvard University in Massachusetts, said that he stays in Kabul because "if a person like Albert Schweitzer could go to Africa, it is a small scientific fact to persuade him to stay in my

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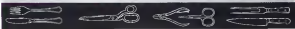
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## BUSINESS

# THE BUDGET CHALLENGE

**H**is reputation on Bay Street remains as straight as the pinstripes in his obligatory blue business suits. And when Conservative Finance Minister Michael Wilson takes his budget on Feb. 26, some of his former colleagues in Canada's blue-chip business circles believe that he will not be among them again. They say that his such budget could be his last, and that the "Tories' fiscal case will soon be returning to the old banks in Toronto's financial district. Regardless, it comes at a critical case for both his party and the country. Conservative MPs, already besieged by the looming Meech Lake constitutional crisis and a searing Liberal landslide, are desperately looking for some good

**CLIMBING INTEREST RATES AND A PLUNGING DOLLAR LEAVE FINANCE MINISTER MICHAEL WILSON WITH NO EASY OPTIONS**

economic news. But last week, Finance Minister Brian Mulroney dashed their hopes when he confirmed that the 1990 budget will carry the same tough Wilson tradition that has devastated his tenure in finance—aggressive cuts and tax increases. Said Mulroney: "You can bank on it."

As Wilson put the finishing touches on his 1990 budget, the storm clouds gathering over the Canadian economy grew darker. After the luxury of spending over almost six years of strong economic expansion, the finance minister is now hemmed in by a slowing economy saddled with increasing unemployment, the highest bankruptcies in 50 years and a falling dollar. And despite Mulroney's warning, many economists say that the current economic climate hampers Wilson's ability to substantially raise taxes or dramatically slash government spending with as cash transfers as the poorer provinces. Economists also say that his inability to raise money will prevent him from cutting deeply into the country's estimated \$50-billion federal deficit. As a result, high interest rates are expected to persist.

When Wilson ended weeks of speculation on Feb. 15 by announcing the date for the taking of his fiscal 1990-1991 budget, the economic news could hardly have been worse. That same day, the Bank of Canada had raised its influential lending rate to 12.75 per cent, its fourth consecutive increase since. In the wake of

all that, Gallup is listed in opinion polls showing that Wilson was the least popular of five top federal cabinet ministers. And if that was not enough, Wilson's painstaking efforts to stabilize the Canadian dollar were shattered by an offshoot report by his boss. It happened during an interview with The Canadian Press, when Mulroney predicted that, after next week's budget, interest rates would begin to fall. That sent the dollar into a steep decline and forced Wilson to issue a statement assuring the international business community that the federal government was not about to abandon its high-interest-rate policy. Said Wilson: "Only when we see an easing in inflation will there be a meaningful decline in interest rates."

Despite the turbulent economic outlook, braving the annual deficit battle under control remains Mulroney's and Wilson's highest goal, and most challenging political task. But warring their deficit battle is highly dependent on interest rates, and to a growing extent those rates are increasingly beyond the government's control. In fact, partly because of higher-than-expected rates in the last year, Wilson has been forced to pay more to cover interest payments on the accumulating federal debt. And analysts say that he may overlook previous projections in his deficit-reduction program.

As a result, interest rates will likely continue to remain high in Canada because a significant portion of Canada's foreign debt, including the debt owed by corporations, is now held by Japanese and other offshore investors. If Wilson lets interest rates fall too low, such investors will withdraw their money from Canada and invest it in countries where it can earn higher rates. Said Robert Brown, vice-chairman of the Toronto-based accounting giant Price Waterhouse: "Why allow dollars to leave the Canadian market unless a few days of even a few Japanese investors turn out?"

Clearly, as Wilson prepares to table yet another budget, he is caught in a vicious

circle. While the cost of financing Canada's huge debt continues to rise, Wilson's ability to raise taxes to reflect the deficit is also limited. Total income tax revenues collected by the federal government have increased by about 70 per cent since 1984. And the new average 60 per cent consumption tax next Jan. 1 will only add to that burden. Said David Egan, an economist with the C.D. Howe Institute: "The government could do irreversible damage. If people are adapting to more taxes and not getting anything back, they will do all in their power to evade paying tax."

And if he cannot substantially raise taxes, Wilson may be forced to make deep cuts in a number of areas. Jeffrey Blum, senior economist with the Toronto brokerage firm Wood Gundy Inc., predicted that those cuts will be made in areas such as defence spending, transfer payments to the provinces and industrial and agricultural subsidies. But, added Blum: "It is actually not the deficit quickly would reduce cuts that people would not accept."

Wilson, who was not embarrassed by the premature leak of his previous budget last April, would not even bat an eye at where the cuts might come, telling Ottawa reporters last week. "You won't hear it out of me this time," But David Henderson, chairman of the House of Commons' lowest committee was more daring, in reflecting that cuts will likely be made in the \$54 billion in annual federal cash transfers to the provinces and all other levels of government, which are used to fund such programs as health care and education. He also said that Wilson may even tackle the politically explosive problem of cutting funding for the social programs, including family allowances and old-age security. Added Henderson: "This budget will be as hard as previous ones for the federal government."

After almost 50 years of Wilson's austere economic management, many Canadians are leery for more stress programs. And despite his personal budget deficits, Wilson's strong confidence has anguished the federal business community. Since his first budget, the deficit as a percentage of gross domestic product has fallen from 9.1 per cent to 4.9 per cent in 1985-1986.

On Bay Street, at least, Wilson is still seen as a man of great integrity. Said Brown: "I think that Wilson will be remembered as doing a good job under extremely difficult circumstances." But with Wilson showing no signs of wavering from that course, taxpayers and citizens dependent on federal funding have expressed early signs of chafing from next week's budget.

TOM FRANKILL and  
PATRICIA CHADWELL in  
Toronto and ERIK HENRIKSEN  
in Ottawa

## Business Notes

### CABLE TV PROFIT FUDS

Canada's cable television operators raise another brick—criticized their profits accountant—Sauri Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Commenting on cable rates and regulations, Commissioner Sauri, as well as the director of investigation and research for Ottawa's Bureau of Competition Policy, Howard Winston, called upon the CRTC to expedite rates for five years. But industry spokesmen defended their rates, which result in average returns of 38 to 42 per cent annually, as necessary in helping cable attract outside financing to improve its systems.

### MERDES APPROVED

After more negotiating the deal, Ontario's Competition Tribunal approved Imperial Oil Ltd.'s \$4.9-billion takeover of Toronto Canada Inc., which the two companies agreed to in January 1989. To meet the tribunal's concerns, deal conditions be maintained, Imperial promised to sell all of Petro's assets in Atlantic Canada as well as 528 service stations across the country—about 100 more than planned.

### PLANT RESCUE PLAN RENOUNCED

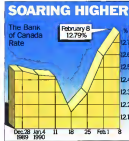
Halifax-based National Sea Products Ltd. said that it will extend the life of fish-processing plants in Canada, N.S., and N.J. John's, N.S. Last December, National Sea had announced that the plants would close in the next few months. Employees affected were angry at news that fewer than one-third of the 1,200 jobs at the plant would be saved.

### A REPRISAL FOR BENNETT

The Supreme Court of Ontario quashed a order awarding former BIC printer William Bennett, his brother Ernest and brother company executive Richard Smith Ontario's license to transfer before the Ontario Securities Commission. The case will hold Bennett to answer allegations that the brothers received an unfair financial advantage by being tipped off in advance that a 1984 takeover bid for Danville company had collapsed last June. A B.C. provincial court awarded the three men of million-dollar damages.

### WARDEN JETS SOLD

Calgary-based P&S Corp. announced that it will sell off the 14 airplanes it acquired when it took over commercial carrier Wardair last year, plus, which is also the parent company of Canadian Airlines International Ltd., said that it will use \$500 million of the \$900 million in proceeds from the sale to pay off Wardair's \$3.3-billion long-term debt.





BUSINESS

## A war on wheels

No-fault insurance sparks a heated debate

**A**nita Lang says that she would gladly forgo any amount of money if only her doctor could sit at her door and tell her, "In another month, you can play squash again." Lang, a 39-year-old coordinator at a London, Ont., medical centre, was driving to her health club in April, 1986, when she was involved in a terrible collision with another vehicle. While fighting back tears, Lang told Marissa Thur, because of the whiplash injury she suffered, both of her shoulders, arms and hands through her arms, and that it takes her an hour to lift a glass of water, let alone a squash racket. Although Lang expects to obtain an accident settlement soon, she is concerned that under a restrictive, no-fault automobile insurance plan being proposed by Ontario's Liberal government, innocent accident victims will be harmed in future from giving consent to such compensation for their prolonged pain, suffering and lost income.

Last week an all-party legislative committee finished issuing public submissions regarding the controversial plan, and both Lang and her lawyer, Nigel Gilly, a member of a lawyers' group lobbying vociferously against the plan, travelled to Toronto, where Lang testified against the legislation introduced last September by Murray Dizon, minister of financial institutions, the plan would replace an accident

victim's right to sue for damages, except for the most severe injuries, with a government-set schedule of benefits—a so-called *no-fault* plan—be paid by the victim's insurance company. In such an almost automatic payout system, Marissa insists that there will be less need for lawyers—and their legal fees—and that therefore the plan will reduce the cost of processing claims, a saving that should, in part, flow or stop the increase in insurance premiums. It should also help victims obtain faster settlements. At the same time, in fighting for a privately operated plan, Dizon rejected the government-run systems adopted by Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, and a pure no-fault, privately based system such as Quebec's, where victims have no recourse to the courts at all.

So far, however, only insurance companies have expressed strong support for Dizon's plan. Without it, they say, they will have to raise the premiums that they charge Ontario drivers by 30 per cent or more this year to cover the cost of claims. Those drivers already pay the highest premiums of any province in the nation—an average of \$871 in 1986. Dizon predicts that his plan will decrease premium increases for rural Ontario drivers and hold increases to an average of eight per cent for drivers in the Greater Toronto area, while

Partial Toronto traffic accident: replacing the right to sue with government payouts

raising government-guaranteed benefits paid to victims from private insurance plans and various government disability programs to a maximum of \$450 a week from \$146.

Still, the plan is under siege from lawyers, groups representing physically and psychologically disabled accident victims, and the Consumers' Association of Canada. And consumer advocate Ralph Nader, based in Washington, told Marissa that Ontario's plan, like no-fault schemes in such U.S. states as Michigan and New York, is simply "a way to avoid having to pay out what people deserve."

Under Dizon's proposal, only victims who suffer such permanent or severe impairment as a lost limb or such serious impairment as a parent's losing flexibility in the wrist would be allowed to sue for damages and compensation over and above the no-fault benefits. While dollar figures have not been set for all potential payouts, the loss of life for the head of a household is valued at \$28,000. But critics argue that about 96 per cent of the roughly 150,000 people injured in auto accidents in Ontario each year will be restricted from recovering any more compensation than that authorized by the government.

Dizon said that by restricting the right to sue, he also hopes to reduce the \$500 million paid to lawyers each year to help settle claims disputes. According to the minister, "The three volume of litigation has gotten out of hand." But the Committee for Fair Action in Insurance Reform, a coalition of lawyers, doctors and academics who oppose Dizon's plan, says that it may not produce any savings at all. Lawrence Mandel, a Toronto lawyer who is counsel for FAIR, argues that accident victims



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## Low profile and the height of luxury

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Next month, just steps away from the exclusive strip of Toronto's Royal York, just across from the Royal Ontario Museum, a hotel will open that expects to set new standards for luxury among the city's most upscale hotels. Aimed at travelling club executive offices, many rooms will feature fax machines, computer monitors and personal telephones answering service as well as marble showers and ebony-wed wood corridors.

The \$46-million structure, Canada's first unit in the Montreal, N.J.-based Inter-Continental chain, with 105 hotels in 47 countries, will have 213 rooms, with an overall art deco theme. Most of its best suites will face an interior garden, insulated from the noise of bustling Bloor Street's traffic.

The rezene in the most visible Canadian project of George Vari, a Hungarian-born civil engineer who has maintained a relatively low profile since arriving here in 1957. Probably the world's most prolific hotel builder, he has created 43 hotels in North America, Europe, Africa and Latin America. His latest project was Toronto's 1,646-room Connaught Hotel, designed for the 1986 Olympics. In addition to the hotel's 1,646 rooms, the other Toronto ventures have included a luxury retirement residence (the Belmont Club on Avenue Road, just up the hill from the Inter-Continental) and North York's Norcote Hotel. Vari invests in most of his own enterprises—he owns 70 per cent of the new Toronto Inter-Continental—and is involved in every phase of every project. "I do the engineering, the dealing with planners and councilors, powers, in fact everything except day-to-day management," Vari told us during a recent interview. "While I put up my own money as to initial capital, I usually sell the hotel within a year or two, because basically it's a bubble."

Yet personally Vari oversees every post-construction detail right down to picking the dishes, glasses and cutlery for his in-house restaurants and the towels and soap for each room.

*Hungarian-born George Vari's Toronto apartment features walls crammed with canvases by Monet, Picasso and Chagall*

It is as much an interior decorator as a builder, especially when it comes to his own residences. Vari mentions a floor-size Paris apartment on the middle row around the Ritz Tower. "My windows," he says, "are just a hundred yards from the tower, and I have a roof garden overlooking the Seine." He also has a villa on the French Riviera, a residence in the heart of the Swiss Alps and a flat in London's posh Grosvenor Square district. In Canada, he has a luxury midtown Toronto condominium plus a brand-new country retreat near Cobourg, Ont.

"I love to recreate and decorate," he says. "It usually takes up wife, Wilma, and me at least two years to finish one place and, as soon as we do, we move on to the next one. But I do it strictly for myself, never for resale or speculation."

His Toronto apartment, which may well be the last penthouse of his studies because most of his net income comes in Europe, still features walls crammed with canvases by Monet, Picasso, Chagall, Dali, Utrillo. Most of the furniture dates back to 16th- to 18th-century France, including some Louis XV pieces. The total effect is that of a turn-of-the-century high-society salon, where the best and the brightest

gather to discuss recent cultural trends and the latest political parties.

Vari's recent seldom gets into the newspaper, but he is a familiar Establishment figure on both sides of the Atlantic and boasts the distinction of being a member of the Order of Canada as well as a Knight of the French Legion of Honor. The Varis throw some of Toronto's best private parties and seem to know everybody. The hotel builder is especially close to Jeanne Seznec and introduced the famous gourmet chef's son, Jean-François, to his bride, the Countess Duques de Mully. Vari's friendship with the Mulroynes started when he found out that he and Mili's father had been students at the same university.

The son of a wealthy Budapest lawyer, Vari was educated at a private school in Luxembourg, Switzerland, and at Budapest's Polytechnical University, where he received a doctorate in economics and a degree in civil engineering. He worked on the construction of Budapest's Royal Palace and became a member of Hungary's elite after the failed 1956 revolution. Eventually, he fled to Montreal, and he has never gotten back since. "I was prisoner in an army barracks when Hungarian refugees were being taken," he recalls, "and would that I went to 1643 St. Catherine St., a Catherine St. I would give you \$5. I only had enough money for one bus ticket; it was not like that, and I just had a railroad. When I arrived, it turned out to be a nice place. They just laughed at me when I asked for the money and directed me to the real address, which was 1662 St. Catherine St. East, not West, so I had to guess the whole city. It was the worst work of my life, but I got the five bucks."

Very quickly moved into the local construction scene and was in charge of building the prefabricated for Expo 67. His reputation for creating high-rise structures led to a 1969 offer to build the Montparnasse Tower in Paris, at 56 stories tall. Europe's tallest building. Two years later, Vari took over a Paris-based construction company called Bette, moving out its stable projects in England, Iran, Nigeria, Israel, Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Morocco and Venezuela. That company is currently planning a series of hotels in Hungary totaling 1,000 rooms.

His hotel's private philanthropies include sponsoring student and professor exchanges between Canada and France. His wife, Helga, representative of the French chapter of the World Mosquitoes Fund currently restoring Peste's Hotel des Invalides, a 17th-century complex, which contains Napoleon's tomb. "What's remarkable about George Vari, who has proved the credentials to count himself a world citizen, is his fierce Canadianism. He became a citizen in 1962 and regards himself as an unpaid ambassador. He promotes this country every chance he gets. 'I will never deny my origins,' says he. 'But Canada is the country that gave me the freedom to do what I wanted, and even if I continue to make my career internationally, I must take my last breath here—because I am and feel very Canadian.'"

## Another myth shattered:

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## ENVIRONMENT

# The recycling boom

Successful programs have produced gluts

**B**y his own admission, Thane Cochran is "not out to save the environment." Still, although a businessman in search of profits, Cochran is also helping the city of Mississauga, Ont., to deal with its household garbage. Last August, when Mississauga expanded its recycling program to include plastics, Cochran, a 41-year-old businessman who owns a metal-recycling plant in Vancouver, launched SuperWood Ontario Ltd., a company set up to manufacture articles out of waste plastic. So far, SuperWood has bought about 180 tons of discarded plastic for just under three cents a pound from the municipality and used it to manufacture such articles as park benches, picnic tables and road signs. Next month, Cochran's company, which will

employ 27 people in Mississauga, will begin manufacturing a new line of agricultural fence posts. Last month, Cochran signed an agreement to purchase to recycle plastic food-and-drink containers from 11 McDonald's Restaurants of Canada outlets in Mississauga and use the material to manufacture seats and playground equipment for the local school.

During the past 10 years, more than 250 Canadian municipalities have launched recycling programs to collect and reuse discarded glass, plastic, metal and paper. Still, even though environmentalists, civic politicians and ordinary citizens are usually quick to endorse the idea of diverting reusable items from overflowing landfill sites, many communities are

discovering that there is more to recycling than putting out blue collection boxes. While a growing number of entrepreneurs like Cochran have begun to develop firms that use waste products as raw materials, public enthusiasm for curbside collection has created a glut—temporarily, at least—for some recyclables. As a result, curbside programs have driven down prices for plastics, newspapers and glass in some regions of the country.

Because recycling involves separate handling of the waste materials that households put out for collection, it is much more expensive than ordinary garbage collection—and municipalities can only hope to cover some of their costs by selling the salvaged materials to industries. Typically, Les Chamberlain, who administers a municipally operated curbside collection program in Surrey, B.C., told *Maclean's* that declining prices for glass and newspaper had put the future at odds of Surrey's recycling program in doubt. Still, Chamberlain, "We are looking for our lives right now."

Despite that, experts say that recycling still has a promising future. In Canada, municipal recycling programs have quickly won popularity with lawmakers ever since Kitchener, Ont., set up the nation's first "blue box" collection system in 1983. Since then, Ontario has become the province most committed to

sorting paper (left), plastic, cans from *Twelve blue boxes*: a growing stockpile

recycling, with 1.1 million households in about 300 municipalities dumping 228,000 tons of curbside-sorted bottles, cans and other rubbish into recycling bins in 1988. As well, scores of other Vancouverians, including some in the Vancouver area, Kitchener and Halifax, have begun recycling programs. And recycling has experienced an explosive growth in the United States. About 600 U.S. municipalities mostly small or medium-sized towns, are currently operating curbside recycling programs. Some larger cities, including New York and Washington, are planning to begin recycling programs. At the same time, 11 states have passed legislation setting goals for the recycling of up to 40 per cent of garbage within the next few years.

Still, growing supplies of some recyclable materials have created problems for some recycling programs. The price of newspaper in Canada dropped to 53¢ per ton in 1988 from \$55 in 1986, while the price paid for waste steel (a basic plastic component) fell to 30 cents a pound by the end of 1988 from 75 cents a pound at the beginning of the year, wiping out the market for used plastic bags. The Vancouver-area municipalities of Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge, which launched municipal recycling programs in the early 1980s, disco-

vered last year that only China was interested in their used plastic—and only if the material was cleaned and free of dyes. Instead, the two communities stockpiled the used plastic. Six Montreal island municipalities, which had planned to launch a recycling program last October, postponed the start of their curbside collections until they could find a market for their recyclables. The municipalities subsequently signed contracts with four firms that will take plastic, glass, metal and newspaper that is scheduled to begin on March 5.

Despite declining prices for some waste products, supporters of recycling contend that the problems are only temporary. "There are both domestic and foreign markets for everything being recycled today," said John Hagan, executive director of the Recycling Council of Ontario. "Prices for some commodities are low right now, but I expect some increases, even shortages, as the recycling industry gets into high

gear." According to some experts, that will happen as increasingly-minded governments in the future start ordering industries to use recycled materials—and as enterprising businesses find new uses for used materials. Indeed, there are signs that stronger demand could develop soon for key recyclables, including:

**Paper.** Despite a current North American glut, used newspaper could soon become a major money earner. The reason: four American states (Florida, California, Connecticut and New York) have enacted laws requiring firms to use 25- to 40-per-cent recycled content in all new newspaper sold within their jurisdiction. The City of Toronto in November passed a resolution requiring newspapers published in the city to use 50-per-cent recycled newspaper, beginning in 1991. Last year, the Thorold, Ont.-based Globe and Ontario Paper Co. for use, set up a recycling unit to process newspaper collected in Ontario. The Thorold firm recycled 156,800 tons of newspapers in 1988 and sold the resulting product to North American customers. As well, Montreal-based Canadian Pacific Forest Products Ltd. announced plans in December to install deinking facilities at its paper mills in Guelph, Ont., and Thunder Bay, Ont., capable of processing 210,000 tons of used newspaper annually.

**Metal.** Prices have risen, but the Ontario-based steel companies Stelco Inc. and Dofasco Inc., as well as the Aluminum Co. of Canada, are in the market for alloy steel and aluminum cans that they can get. Alcoa officials say that recycling aluminum requires only five per cent as much energy as is needed to smelt the metal in the first place, saving considerable money per ton. Last year, Alcoa recycled 218,000 tons of aluminum cans in North America. For its part, Alcoa chairman David Morton in December described the situation here as one of the ideal product for recycling and said that his firm was hoping to reach 50 per cent of all the cans produced in the United States this year. Alcoa officials said that in Canada, the firm buys back 45 per cent of the aluminum cans it produces.

**Glass.** Toronto-based Consumers Glass Co. recycled about 100,000 tons of glass in 1989, melting down millions of bottles and jars and manufacturing new glass containers. The firm, which has been recycling for more than

30 years, is the only manufacturer in Canada that uses recycled glass in its new Canadian glass. Glass prices the highest labor costs for municipal collection programs because it cannot be reconstituted by any other material, such as cement, and must be solely separated for recycling. Timothy McChesney, recycling manager for Metropolitan Toronto, said that the glass industry's requirements are low right now, but that they will require a 25-ton load of there's a scrap pile. "Currently, City of Toronto

Cochran: picnic tables



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and Consumers Glass, which are attempting to find a way of using the 4,000 tons of glass collected by the city that is contaminated by chemicals and other objects. One possibility is to crush the glass and use it in the manufacture of asphalt.

**Plastics.** Plastics, which form between five and 15 per cent of Canada's waste stream, are the most difficult materials to recycle. Still, a growing number of businesses are finding ways to use recycled plastics. Toronto-based Fibrecrete Systems Corp. has developed an insulating material called Pulfiller, which is made by spinning plastic waste. Mark Menke, the company's founder and president, says that Pulfiller is plastic, nontoxic and comparable in energy efficiency to glass fiber. Menke and the company plan to begin marketing Pulfiller for residential use in Canada and the United States next spring. In another project, Sarnia, Ont.-based Dow Chemical Canada and Montreal-based Densar Inc. joined forces in 1986 to develop a recycling project that will use waste plastic.

According to the Recycling Council of Canada, such projects are causes for optimism about the future of recycling. Reason, for one, is that a vast market for recycled plastics is growing, thanks to the depletion of resources, which are calling waste today to highly valued, reusable materials. It's just a matter of diverting money from waste disposal to market development and secondary industries. For her part, Donna Parsons, executive director of Vancouver's Society Promoting Environmental Conservation, said that for recycling to work, Canadian society will have to "develop a whole new waste-management ethic. It begins with conserving our resources, reducing our packaging and consumption and starting to treat our waste as a resource."

Other supporters of recycling stress that profitability should not be the only measure of success for municipal recycling programs. John Bacon, executive director of the Vancouver-based B.C. Coalition for Recycling and Letter Control, said that in many cases, curbside recycling programs are not profitable. "It is a waste-dependent market," said Bacon. "There's how people should think about it. It's not a commodity business to make money." Indeed, that ethic appears to have taken root among a group of Calgary high-school students. Last month, six members of the city's Western Canada High School Recycling Club collected 750 lb of newspaper and sold it to a paper-recycling company for \$9.08. "The money hardly paid for the gasoline we used," said Stephen Ponce, 17, a Grade 12 student. "But we are doing it to save trees." If they are successful, the recycling program that Calgary has begun so enthusiastically called upon may serve the dual purpose of saving resources and providing a sound basis for successful new businesses.

BOLGER JOHNSON with correspondence reports



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34







## PEOPLE

## A FAMILY OF SPIES

In a real-life plot twist, the televised story of James Bond's creator is going to star Jason Connery, son of the man who made Agent 007 famous on the movie screen. In the U.S. radio-tv movie *The Secret Life of Ian Fleming*, to be broadcast on March 5, the 36-



*Cannery: playing the man behind the man*



Robbie Hall (left), son Scott, members of an exclusive group

Like father, like son

**S**o Lons Blues night-winger **Reese Hall**, son of the legendary **Bobby Hall**, says that he always "dreamed" of becoming a hockey star at his own right. Last week, the dream came true when—with his father watching—he became one of an exclusive group to score 50 goals in one season. The Halls are now looking at first- and second-team to look across 50 goals. Last season, 25 "10" can do anything to make a name for myself. It's great, and if people still say I'm Bobby Hall's son, I'm not going to worry about it."

## Monster fun

**A**ccording to actress Heather Thomas, suspects have come for their bodies. She should know: Thomas, 33, portrayed Marilyn Monroe, the ultimate blond beauty, in the 1988 TV movie *Blondie* in the life Kennedy became playing a seductive woman in the black comedy novel and *Blondie American* film, now showing at Toronto. For her part Thomas, a Los Angeles resident, said that playing *Blond* hasn't become "hug," and that she is having a better time acting as a "hard blonde" than "the soft one." "Especially like putting on



Thomas: a 'weight bloodfactor'

*Acting while  
fully dressed*

Canadian actress Heidi von Palleske says that she can relate to her upcoming movie role as a journalist who must choose between ethics and respect. "As an actress, I often face that same dilemma," said von Palleske, who ap-

peared in the 1989 Oscar-winning movie *Dead Kings*. Added the Toronto native: "I taught aerobics classes for years rather than do films where people keep taking their clothes off for no reason." Von Pulaski, 30, who says that she would not do "inflating movies," will

Noel Hallinan, chairwoman



### MARITAL STRESSES

Writer Anne Rudy says that having her book short-listed for a Governor General's Award is a "bribe" for anthropology—and a "hook" for her marriage. Rudy, 41, added that it came as a surprise to her and her husband, Ronald Wright, 41, that her academic study *Wombs and Alien Spirits* was commercial, while his widely acclaimed *Time for the Mayas: Travels in the Yucatán* was not. The book, which is the first of the product of 21 months of living in northern Yucatán, is about a group of Mayan women who believe that they are possessed by spirits. The award winners will be announced on March 6. Says Rudy, an anthropology professor at the University of Toronto and her husband's travel-writing partner, "It's being very special to me. I feel like I've been blessed with an opportunity to do my own thing, on my own's initiation. Her book is terrific, so I'm still looking to her."

play an aggressive reporter in *White Paper*, based loosely on the story of the Sikh refugees who landed illegally in Nova Scotia. Filming begins in Toronto in May. Van Pelt says that she likes the part because it challenges her. Added the actress: "When I am terrified of a role, that is when I know it is exactly what I want to do."

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*Rushdie: 'an agony and a frustration not to be able to re-write my old life'*

## PUBLISHING

# Hide and speak

*Salman Rushdie talks about his lonely life*

He has confined the man who accused him of blasphemy against Islam and sentenced him to death. One year later, Salman Rushdie, the British author of *The Satanic Verses*, is still in hiding—avoiding the religious edict, or *fatwa*, issued by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, who died last June. But the worst of the Rushdie, India-born writer reached millions last week on the anniversary of his forced exile: an approach to a 7,000-word essay published in Britain's *The Independent* on Sunday and in *Newsweek* magazine. Rushdie defended his book as an eloquent polemic. And on Feb. 8, 1996, Television broadcast a lecture called *In My Name*, Survival—written by Rushdie and delivered by his friend, playwright Harold Pinter—about literature, religion and freedom of expression. "It is an agony and a frustration not to be able to re-write my old life, not even for such a moment," wrote Rushdie, 42, who moves frequently between safe houses provided by the government. A friend from that old life, novelist Julian Barnes, told *Maxine's* that, despite the "unimaginable circumstances" of Rushdie's life, "he seems to be bearing up surprisingly well—there's a tremendous robustness there."

Rushdie will need that robustness during the coming months. There is speculation that Iran will suspect the *fatwa*, and new demonstrations by fundamentalists were planned for this week in Bradford, England, the site of such Muslim opposition last year. A disagreement between the author and his publisher, Viking Penguin, about whether to release a paperback edition of the controversial novel is still unresolved. And his attitude has hardened since his wife, writer Maureen Wiggins, emigrated from India last August, fueling speculation that the couple's marriage had frayed. Wiggins, recently turning Britain to promote the paperback edition of her novel, *John Gallegher*, insists the marriage is intact and that she corresponds regularly with her husband.

Recently, Rushdie gave his first interviews in more than a year, to Blake Morrison, the literary editor of the Sunday edition of *The Independent*, and to *Newsweek* staffs in Sarah Chisholm and Laura Shapiro. The novelist, who remains given 24-hour protection, revealed to the British publications that he spends a lot of time watching "junk television"—including *Cosmo*, *Dalme* and *Mythomachine*—as he recovers from his 18th-century childhood of free speech as Rousseau, Diderot and Voltaire, and favorite novels, including *Moby Dick*, *Tristram*

Shandy and *Olympe*. And Rushdie continues to write: he has nearly completed a children's book, an assemblage of essays and has produced an outline for his next novel.

A generous person who spent much time on the literary circuit before his incarceration, Rushdie told *The Independent* that he misses everyday things the most. "The things that are most difficult to take are not being able to walk down street... to go to a shop... to go to a movie—those trivial sorts of things that you take for granted until you don't have them. What they add up to in life." However, he is allowed to make telephone calls and occasionally permitted to attend small dinner parties. A *Twentyfour-hour* writer who did not wish to be startled by fear of kidnappers attended one of these gatherings last fall and says that it was cheerful but strained. "There was an effort to make everything seem as normal as possible," he said. "It was a bit like a waltz, where people talk about everything except the death itself."

In his essay, Rushdie paid tribute to his publisher and to bookstore owners who continue to stock the book. And he expressed gratitude to friends who have continued to support him publicly—a group that includes writers Harold Pinter, Fay Weldon and Martin Amis, and former Labour Party leader Michael Foot. But, according to some observers, there is a backlash even within the British intellectual community. Said Barnes, referring to recent pieces written by such prominent figures as novelist John le Carré and historian Hugh Trevor-Roper: "There have been a number of incoherent articles suggesting that Salman ought to be taken out into a back alley and given a good beating—that he 'knew what he was doing' from the beginning." Added Barnes: "It's a subtle kind of racism, actually. There's a feeling that Salman, being one of them, ought to have known how they would react."

That question of Muslim fundamentalist reaction figures largely in the decision over whether to issue a paperback version of *The Satanic Verses*. Viking Penguin has sold one million hard-cover copies at a price of \$13.3 million, yet it has the spent more than \$4.4 million on security measures at its publishing offices and retail stores around the world. At the publisher's headquarters in London's Kensington district, visitors must place their bags on an X-ray machine and wear body-worn security guards. During the past year, the company has received about 3,000 threatening letters and 25 bomb warnings in Britain, and police have found five explosive devices in Penguin shops. Despite that harassment, the company denies that staff are leaving or that it is having difficulty operating.

Meanwhile, Rushdie remains in a state of limbo. He told *The Independent* that he remains optimistic that one day he can resume a normal existence. Then, in his parting words to the publication, he said: "I declined my pen's shape, the shape of a man, the language in development. That's consequently easy. What's hard is to have to defend my life."

DIANE TURBIDE with IAN MAXWELL  
in London

# Tribal tribulations

Debate grows over who owns native culture

In television and movies, they have been portrayed as ruthless savages and assass victims. Museums have placed their sacred artifacts under glass, while art galleries tend to advertise their contemporary art. And their image has been stylized into a cartoon stereotype on sports team logos and TV test patterns. Issues have not been well crossed at the trading post of North American culture. But over the past decade, while fighting for land claims, they have also begun to reclaim their culture. Native performers, writers and artists are making their voices heard. And as Aboriginal culture becomes part property to the commercial mainstream, they are challenging conventional attempts to portray it. This week, a CCTV movie titled *Divided Loyalties* affirms the 150th anniversary saga of Metis chief Joseph Brant. An action-packed drama costing almost \$5 million, it is the first film to depict the eighth-century Canadian history with violence and color. It also respects a vital chapter of native history. But the movie has already stirred up resentment in the native community in Ontario here as portrayed by a white star.

The controversy surrounding *Divided Loyalties* is just one of many. Recently, non-native producers, directors, writers and visual artists have been accused of stealing and misrepresenting Indian stories, myths and customs. Some native critics complained that *Where the Spirit Lives*, a widely acclaimed movie shown on CBC TV last fall, presented an inauthentic and sentimental portrait of Indians growing up in the residential school system. Best-selling British Columbia author W. P. Kinsella wrote under fire last year's publication of *The Man Mohamud*, his sixth book of fictional stories set in and around the Mohawks reserve in northern Alberta. And Calgary visual artist Jovett Cardinal-Sherbert has criticized some of his white colleagues for peddling native icons.

"Native artists," said Michael Kinsella, "should be given the respect that is given to non-artists who have copyright-minded lawyers lining up the background."



Longpelt. Cardinal making their voices heard

Metis (1986) and *Theda* (1988), while Canada's Thomas King is renowned independent activist with his first novel, *Medicine River* (1986), a close-knit community of writers and

Michael St. John in *Where the Spirit Lives*: complaints from native critics



actors has emerged what is equally the most vibrant new force in Canadian theatre. Manitoba-born Cree Thomas Highway, 58, has acquired an international reputation for his plays about native experience. Highway's *The First Nation* scored the country for five months in 1987 and 1988. Last year, his *Day Lodge* (1988) won the Governor General Award for best play, and it is among the nominees for this year's Governor General Award. New Toronto producer David Mervin plans to re-stage *Day Lodge* at the 1,600-seat Royal Alexandra Theatre.

Meanwhile, several actors who have honed their skills in Toronto's native theatre community have been discovered by Hollywood. Gary Farmer was cast for his starring role in last year's *Platoon* (1986), a combat novel about two Cayman brothers in the contemporary American West. Graham Greene, another native actor from Toronto, teamed with Kevin Costner in *Against the Wall*, a period western about the Seven that Costner, making his debut as a director, is now completing. And, despite Hollywood's conventional wisdom that native natives don't sell, Canadian director Norman Jewison is planning a screen adaptation of Kinsella's first book of Indian stories, *Man Mohamud* (1987). Jewison defends the artist's right to cross racial lines. "Should I only do films about white people?" he said. "No. I hope I should only do films about black people. Sensitivity on the part of the artist is what is required." But he added that he would insist on casting natives in native parts. "The talent that has come out of the native community in Toronto theatre since the past five years is amazing," he said.

As native culture merges with the mainstream, friction seems inevitable. *Divided Loyalties*, the first in a series of historical dramas that British Broadcasting plans to make for CBC, focuses on a Metis warrior chief who made painful compromises between the white and native worlds two centuries ago. Joseph Brant was named as a Christian and educated as a British subject in New England. When he was in his late-30s, he led four tribes of the Iroquois into Seneca confederacy against the British in fighting the patriots of the American Revolution. Later, Brant was viewed as a traitor by some of his own people—including his wife. He died in exile from his people in what is now Burlington, Ont., in 1817. And on the Six Nations reserve near Brantford, Ont., where the Brant family lived, the nature of his legacy is still debated.

Lengthy photographs, *Divided Loyalties* dramatizes Brant's story in two hours as a violent, angry peasant tearing with nations. Amid the native scenes, character development remains short shrift. The film-makers took pains to ensure authenticity—hiring consultants to help with the script and a native consultant to work

on sets. But there are curious lapses in realism. In one scene, Brant disembarks from a canoe without wearing it—and it drifts away empty.

The most jarring lack of credibility, however, is in the portrayal of Brant. The executive producer of *Divided Loyalties*, former CTV executive Tim Gould, says that it was impossible to find a suitable native actor for the part. After an extensive talent search in Toronto, Vancouver and Los Angeles, the film-makers hired a relatively unknown white actor Jack Longpelt, a Montclair of Dutch descent with

features that would probably have been a costume for any part, too. "Cardinal also has a role in Kevin Costner's *Against the Wall*," Gould didn't even consider non-native actors for native roles "for a moment," he said.

Still, the Toronto-based director of *Divided Loyalties*, Metis-born Marco Asquith, calls the casting issue "unavoidable." He met with native actors, including Greene and Farmer, both of whom grew up on the Six Nations reserve. But he says that they were not available for the last (both turned down offers of



Scene from *Divided Loyalties*: some native actors refused to be a part of the film

black hair and dark eyes. "We chose Jack for his general appearance, his acting and athletic ability," said Gould. "We expected controversy—there was talk of it by heart."

In fact, some native actors refused to be a part of *Divided Loyalties*, and others accepted roles with reluctance. Timken Cardinal, the Alberta-born Metis who portrays Brant's wife, Molly, said he was upset about the casting of a non-native as the lead. "I thought we were going to be the last," he said. "I thought we were in Los Angeles. I thought of not doing it, but

never really. At one time, Christopher Penn was being considered to play George Washington. Native screenwriter Dave Taylor, who met with the director last January, recalls that Asquith said, "If you put a native actor up against Farmer, Farmer would lose him right out of the water." Dismissing the controversy as the product of "silly, old-fashioned attitudes," Asquith told *Newsweek*: "Every nation in the world has led to suffer. Where I come from makes the history of the Indians look like nothing—the Metis have

been shot, gone by every power in the Middle East for thousands of years."

Asquith also became embroiled in a controversy with his producers. He says that he had "huge artistic differences" with them. In fact, the producers of *Divided Loyalties* rejected Asquith's vision of the film, and most of themselves in their participation. The result is "extremely painful," said Asquith. Charging that the producers "emasculated" his interpretation of native history, he said, "Everything that I had worked for for six months went down the tubes." Joseph Greenwood, Brant's executive in charge of the production, says that Asquith was never budget and overstated in treating the TV movie like a theatrical epic. As for the casting of Brant, Greenwood said, "The movie was not intended as a pro-native propaganda vehicle."

The non-native producers of last fall's TV movie *Where the Spirit Lives* appeared to be more sensitive to native concerns. Various Indian consultants worked on the script, and all native roles were filled by actors with native blood. But Lester Kinsella, a Toronto writer based in Toronto, charged that the movie lacked authenticity. Many natives disagreed. In fact, as all native roles gave the film more realism, including Best Picture, at the American Indian Film Festival in San Francisco last November. Kinsella, however, has collected a broader debate by challenging the right of non-natives to tell native stories. "When narratives tell them," he said, "they are usually sanitized, taken out of context or misread down."

Others reject the idea of placing cultural constraints on a writer's imagination. Highway, Thomas Highway says that what matters is the quality of the writing. "People can write about whatever they want," he said. "A writer, a woman, a child or a refrigerator. Alberta writer Thomas King mentions that some non-native artists handle native material well. But while writers ought to be careful," said King. "Anyone who thinks that they can just walk out with certain material and not have objections is misleading."

Like Kinsella's stories, King's *Medicine River* focuses closely on the lives of Indians in small Alberta communities. "I think that some of Kinsella's stories are good," King added, "but they were dressed out in the familiar language. Too often, he goes for the cheap laugh." In replying to his critics, Kinsella said that his Indians "don't have the skill or experience to tell their stories well."

Many non-native artists disagree—and some have sought eagerly out of collaboration with native Metis. In his novel *Griffiths*, a white actress and writer from Toronto, engaged in an inspiring exchange with Maria Campbell, a Saskatchewan Metis writer, to create a novel-winning play, *Griffiths*, in 1981. Produced to great acclaim by Toronto's Theatre Project, it is a novel about the life of a small town and its tragedy.

Recently, *Cross Blood* Press published *The Book of Genesis*, an extraordinary account by Griffiths and Campbell of how they bridged their differences to create the play. The book

explores the issue of "cultural theft" with unapologetic candor and insight. Included are transcribed tapes of discussions between the quartet that are as passionate as their quarrels. Griffiths says that for her, native culture was "like a treasure chest opening up." Concluding her initial mission, Campbell points out the frustrating irony of trying to protect native culture: "Our elders teach us that we don't love, so never even think the stories, the songs," she says. "It is the way that the outside views ourselves."

But in their culture enters the mainstream, natives are beginning to view issues of copyright. And the concern perhaps isn't as big as the visual arts. It is a bookend: published last fall by *Flare Magazine*, a Toronto-based arts periodical, Carolyn's Joane Cardinal-Shubert—owner of antiquary Douglas Cardinal—bought our reporter what she calls the "missing" of native art. "Just in [Toronto gallery] Alimant art," she says, "where mainstream artists today feel quite justified in creating works replete with renewed inspiration."

Specifically, Cardinal-Shubert charged the images of native social lodge ceremonies by use established, non-Indian Toronto artist, Andy Yoho, were part of a "staggered rip-off of cultural icons." And she lashed out in newspaper group of those Toronto artists, called *Protestants*, who mounted an exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1986. It included a parody of museum relics in glass cases. The artist's exhibits, which included a birdhouse for cup, were "cross-cultural jokes," according to De Saxe, a spokesman for the group. "We are joking respect, not ripping off," said Saxe.

At native artists' recognition fragments of their culture encroaching at other contexts, their resentment sometimes reflects their frustration in failing to find expression and compensation for their own work. Earlier this month, an artist's lobby group, Native Arts of Canada, called for another change of racism at Hull, Que. "A Museum of Conquest for the way in which it organizes with folk artists, including Indians and Inuit," Greg Graham, national director of Canadian Artists' Representation, said that the museum's artists contract for such artists as "objective and misrepresenting." The museum's deputy director, Jacques Gauthier, dismissed the attack as "an act"—but agreed reforms could be in order.

In Canada's social history is a nation, native literature affords the only ancient thread of homogeneous culture that connects the country "battered by a lack of identity," as literary critic Marjorie Pryor has put it. And as non-natives grow preoccupied for native, native culture loans as an available resource. But for many native artists it represents more than just an aesthetic—it is a sacred trust. "Native oral tradition," she says, "is a sacred trust. It is the heart of our culture." My people will sleep for 100 years. When they awake, it will be the artists who give back their spirit. "Now, as both native and non-native artists by choice in North America's storied legacy, new traditions will have to be forged on the frontier of the imagination."

BRIAN D. JOHNSON and DAVID TURBINE  
and RUMELA YOUNG in Toronto

## FILMS

## The ABCs of love

Reading and romance make perfect bedfellows

STANLEY & IRIS

Directed by Markie Ritt

THEIR playful, well-intentioned Stanley & Iris is a work in progress. It's not a surprise when, at the movie's conclusion, Stanley (Robert De Niro) declares, "Yes, anything's possible." By then, Stanley has a right to sound justified: As the film's author, he is a literate writer who has suffered all his life from the terrible handicap and shame of being illiterate. Under the tutelage of Iris (Jane Fonda), a widowed bakery worker, he at last learns to read and write. To be exact, Stanley & Iris dramatizes an often overlooked and understated literary problem: an estimated 30 million U.S. and Canadian adults are functionally illiterate. But in essence, the film is really one of a predictable love story that a relevant social commentary.

Stanley & Iris is set in another hard-taken film addition to the Oscar-winning leads, Fonda and De Niro. Its director, Markie Ritt, and screenwriter Irving Ravitz and Harriet Frank Jr. previously teamed up on *Norma Rae*, the 1979 hit starring Sally Field about a woman dying in among textile workers. Stanley & Iris is set in another hard-taken film addition to the Oscar-winning leads, Fonda and De Niro. Its director, Markie Ritt, and screenwriter Irving Ravitz and Harriet Frank Jr. previously teamed up on *Norma Rae*, the 1979 hit starring Sally Field about a woman dying in among textile workers.



Fonda, De Niro: A saint and a 'big daddy'

ar, he manages to get beyond the house of no more—and beyond first love with Iris.

The movie's performance is the best thing about the movie. With his barely-humble, plucky's mug and selfless but commanding presence, he is wonderfully convincing as an intelligent man trapped under the disability that he refers to in his "prison." But even he has trouble with some of the film's convoluted dialogue. When Iris's son says that his deceased father used to let him leave a light on in his room at night, De Niro, who has recently lost his own father, replies, "My father was the light." Fonda, meanwhile, appears uncomfortable with the overly role of Iris, her performance is frequently measured. She seems aloof that her gentle and ethereal for a woman who spends her days slapping frosting on assembly-line cakes. At one point, recalling sex with her husband, Iris declares it as "getting playful." See Stanley read: See Iris smile. See Stanley and Iris get playful.

PAMELA YOUNG



Along her high-flying heroine goes in AA meetings—in between midnight typists

## BOOKS

## Crash landing

Erica Jong wings it in a tale of obsession

ANY WOMAN'S BLUES

By Erica Jong

(Harper & Row, New York, \$22.95)

When Erica Jong finished writing *Any Woman's Blues*, her latest novel, she must have realized that there would be some debate over what the book was really about. Was it, as the helpful subtitle suggests, "a novel of obsession," or was it a novel about the mad love of an alcoholic woman, Linda Reed, as love with a husband and named David Deane? If it's about Linda's voyage from her obsession to live and love to independence, sobriety and sanity? Or was the book simply a feminist one just over Erica Jong, famous author and sex writer, as she tries to give up everything she's used to in pursuit of her first love. *Any of It* ("Only one thing is clear by the end of the novel: Alcoholism Anonymous must surely be the new church of the 1990s if even Jong's high-flying heroines are now finding their salvation in AA meetings instead of midnight typists).

Jong's fictional alter ego is a 30-year-old painter with a weakness for too much wine and of the wrong men. I don't see, for likelihood love with Linda's, confesses Linda. Her drug of choice is the little young David, who makes her miserable. "All I can do is listen for the cracked glass of David's motorcycle wheels, which seem to ride right over my heart." David runs her concentration—just he doesn't do much the Jong's accordingly guide

prose, either. "Love is the sweetest addiction," she writes. "Who would not sell her soul for the dream of two made one. For the sweet taste of making love as the sunlight on an Atlantic beach with a young girl whose armpits are hard with pubic."

When David disappears with a lumbago, Linda tries to make do with an impromptu mistress, followed by a corporate man more attached to his telephone than his libido. Finally, with the help of an AA sister, she finds the road from dependency to what the book calls "self-love," which is not to be confused with narcissism. "After all, the years to stop finding her reflection in the mirror of men," Linda remembers, "but true to the archetype of addiction, she suffers relapses along the way." That's why Jong does what she clearly expects most, which is to write about de-alcoholized narcissism.

In fact, Linda is pretty to an S-and-M lecher in New York City is the one place where the hedonistic narrative of the novel picks up in a much less, truly shocking episode in Linda's moral education. Friends encourage Linda to order her abortion with David—who actually wears aprons—that in the broken scene a final act of unconditional women. Jong should have stayed with Linda's dark tale rather than wildly jumping at the next morning, as the author does in *Any of It*. The author wants to arrive at wisdom in her novel faster than her heroine does. Linda's act of consciousness is a little trip to Venice, where she has one last thing to play to name the blues in

there a self-help program for authors with a weakness for bad romance? They're admission to a mistress on the Venice canals. Ah, yes, recovery is a tough road. Linda's 10-year-old twin daughters are also suspiciously conscientious, disappearing whenever a new lover shows up. Over the romantic escapade Jong seems to be running from her own thought.

Perhaps assuming that the book was out of control, Jong upposes a literary device that does not work. "The whole novel is presented as an 'unpublished manuscript'" written by hazy Wong. Jong's become in her earlier novels. That cry business was done a novel that already can hardly bring itself to focus on any other character except Linda.

But Jong has an answering answer for what is on people's minds—in this case, the power and profits of addiction. It gives the book something of the hard fascination of a TV rerun of the work. Jong's car crash, melodramatic style also makes the experience of reading *Any Woman's Blues* seem like drinking through a stranger's diary. "I believe in a career, of course," she writes at one point. "You must play! No more quiet! I suffer. But even as I escape her writing goodbye to me, I know I am really saying goodbye to her." And so on. The novel is not so much written that when Linda declares power of mind at the end, it simply does not ring true. It is as if Jong had asked her guests to a vegetarian banquet and then passed by with trays of braised steak. The result is a compelling but confused novel that strains for a much clearly better story.

MARCO JACKSON

## Maclean's

BEST-SELLING

FICTION

- 1 *Devers and Devers*, James (3)
- 2 *Rebecca's Paradise*, Eric (3)
- 3 *Wasted*, Fyfe (1)
- 4 *Against the Odds* and *The Kid*, Michael (3)
- 5 *Silence*, John (1)
- 6 *Gold Harbor*, Nigro (1)
- 7 *Widowhood*, Viki (1)
- 8 *The Shepherd*, John (1)
- 9 *The Dark Side*, John (1)
- 10 *My Love*, Douglas (1)

NONFICTION

- 1 *A World of Love*, Gail (3)
- 2 *Reverence*, Gail (1)
- 3 *The Emperor's New Mind*, Penrose (3)
- 4 *Magnum 2000*, Penrose (1)
- 5 *The Silence of Everyday Life*, James (1)
- 6 *Devers and Devers*, James (1)
- 7 *Wasted*, Fyfe (1)
- 8 *The Deceased*, John (1)
- 9 *My Love*, Douglas (1)
- 10 *Unfinished Business*, John (1)

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Compiled by Brian Johnson



## Why friends fall from high places

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There is a rolling of the eyes in the holy place where just another of Brian Mulroney's close friends takes the gas pipe. Here we go again. That's the popular opinion. That was the feeling when the latest bonfire pit, one Brian Gellery, had to recede quickly as vice-chancellor of CFI when backroom reporters revealed he couldn't quite discern the difference between public duty and private interests. It's rather a pattern among the Prime Minister's pals, but there is a movement that seems wants to limit.

Unless you have spent years in the wilderness, you do not know what the wilderness is like. Those chaps consigned to the Pinchot Foreign Legion in the Solinas-bombarded for charity bids—know what it is like. So do the Prime Minister's pals—those wretched figures who stubbornly persisted at being Conservatives in Quebec through the Long March.

To be a Conservative in Quebec when the Liberals wonned the usual patronage was to be a lonely wanderer on the trail of Chicanos. While slash funds and paving contracts and lawyers' fees and real estate transactions went to faithful friends who delivered the province's money to Mulroney King and St. Laurent and Pearson and then they left. Brian Mulroney and his pals sat and watched.

To keep from being completely lonely, some that may lose death: they had a better plan. They would have far wide relegated to the wilderness. They wouldn't and might in the case of the vengeance they would wreak upon their former friends once they—the elect—by-and-by—eventually come to power.

Mulroney and Gellery and their pals were the best party people in Montreal. Partially because their cause was hopeless. Partially because they believed that they themselves couldn't possibly become worse and therefore blue skies—somewhere, somehow—must be at the future.

Mulroney the boy wonder who went out to Saskatchewan, as an aide to Saskatchewan's Alvin Hamilton, tried to explain that as to how he



living, breathing Conservative left at the time.

The explosive Times, eager for success after a lull in the desert, whooped and howled at that time. They loved it. Especially since their bitterness over the obviously far too quick, never forgiven for the lot that, on the night of his scandal and guilty Conservative nonattendance note that ended his career after only one month: there were some 100 patronage appointments sitting on his desk assigned.

Brian Mulroney, coming from backroom Quebec, was not to make the same mistake Gellery, a large Trudeau with an expensive wardrobe, was to be given the acting chairmanship of CFI and then—when a patronage chairman was chosen—would ride a newly created job in vice-chancellor, while retaining his duties in France. Buddy Michel Coppen went to the Senate. Friend Yves Fortin went to the United Nations. Phil Jess Bann went to the Senate—and mysteriously resigned resigning, pleading that he didn't have the time to devote to the job at expiration of his age.

Mulroney is held up against a hard standard. Pierre Trudeau has never been detected as having real friends. There he has not exactly stable for government posts. Boris Bereznev in transport minister as Margaret Thatcher in external affairs minister was in power in the morning. John Turner's close friends are aging fools, never in mind at early jobs, and has real never really that way.

But the Mulroney gang, their own collars turned up against the world, regarded the Senate Drive with its cut-throat, complex in writing to be advertising people who, ordered to not exist, were nevertheless in a two-way little shipping magnates of course. Gellery, a man Tony had never could've got anything wrong with throwing parties in his private car for Tony's legs. Chief fund-raiser David Angus made such open house about his moment Senate appointment that a nervous Mulroney never did make it.

The Quebec vote in a total mess each election, and as our time decides the election. The Mulroney friends—many still holding high places who lived the francophone majority at Léves's law school—have their own little protective blanket. They resented the Liberal establishment that regard over the country for too many decades.

They were shut out for too long and now, once in, have been in caused by the masses of money rather than money making that they eventually get into deep trouble in the headlines.

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